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all there was the legal suppression of bull-baiting; then cock-fighting was put down by the strong hand of the law. Some thirty years since the use of dogs for the purposes of draught attracted the notice of our legislators, and an Act was passed prohibiting it: and now, after an interval of repose, during which the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has been employing itself in the laudable task of searching out the reprobates who skinned live cats and the drovers who left the marks of their cudgels on the backs of their cattle, public attention has been drawn (with what reason we shall presently see) to the new and fruitful subject of vivisection: new, because it is a fresh phase in the history of the movement when a practice confessedly advantageous to the physical wellbeing of man is to be discouraged, restricted, or abolished for the sake of the animals who suffer under it; fruitful, because it clashes, not with the immediate interests of the poor or the questionable tastes of the sporting community, but with a scientific study to which many scientific men cling tenaciously as almost indispensable for a thorough knowledge of physiology, and which they are therefore sure to defend with all possible vigour. Coincidentally with the attack on vivisection, an equally energetic though less widespread assault has been made on the old English sports of hunting and coursing. We are told that the sportsman purchases his amusement at the expense of very intense suffering to the fox and the hare, and that he has no right to inflict such suffering merely to please himself. As for fishing, we believe that it has not yet been made the subject of any serious attack. It is true we remember a certain moral nursery rhyme-book of our childhood, in which "cruel Peter," who had been running the barbarous fishhook through the gills of the poor fishes, was represented as incurring a righteous retribution by being caught under the chin by a large meat-hook in his mother's larder as he was depositing on a shelf his ill-gotten prey; but we imagine that the story was intended rather as a myth calculated to check the propensity to cruelty which exists in all children than as a sober warning against a popular pastime. At all events, we never heard of any, even a Pythagorean, philosopher, who ventured seriously to assail the angler in the pursuit of his healthful and captivating recreation.

It is very necessary to regard this question of the treatment of animals on its true basis as a question of reason and not

of sentiment. Sentiment will always be on the side of unlimited mercy, even where reason declares such a sentiment to be inimical to the higher claims of man. The "poor dear little hare" is sure to meet with the warmest sympathy from all except a few strong-minded women. The dog licking the operator's hand while the cruel knife is cutting through its quivering nerves and bleeding arteries elicits our heartfelt compassion, and is prone to bias our judgment. Besides, there is something so revolting in unnecessary and causeless cruelty, that we are apt to fancy that cruelty can scarcely ever have a sufficient cause, to overlook the solid good resulting to man, under the influence of a generous but misguided feeling which compels us to sympathize with the momentary sufferings of the animal. To reason, then, we appeal in the present article: to the rational basis which underlies all true morality, and which we find distinctly and unmistakeably laid down in our text-books of Catholic philosophy. In order to decide in what cases cruelty is justifiable, and therefore no cruelty at all, and where, on the other hand, it deserves reprobation and the sternest severity of legal enactment, we must first decide what is the proper relation of animals to men in the natural order, whether it is one of right and counter-right, whether animals have in and of themselves any claim to our consideration, or whether the duty to the brute creation is a duty based on man's duty to himself and not to them. We have to examine whether the latter will be a sufficient sanction for the law of mercy, and whether cruelty is sufficiently checked by the obligation binding man to seek everything which leads him on to his own perfection, and to avoid everything calculated to turn him aside from it.

But we must begin by distinguishing between two kinds of cruelty—between wanton cruelty and what we may call accidental or indirect cruelty. Wanton cruelty inflicts pain merely for the sake of inflicting it, and without any further end or object whatever. Accidental cruelty inflicts pain, not for its own sake, but with a view to some farther advantage which the person inflicting it hopes to derive from it for himself or others. In wanton cruelty every one will admit that there is something intensely despicable and contemptible. To make an animal suffer simply for the pleasure of seeing it suffer is the mark of an entirely base, degraded, cowardly character. It is one of those actions which do not perhaps come under any of the

Ten Commandments immediately and directly, but yet imply as low a depth of baseness as many a flagrant sin. Every civilized community condemns it as worthy only of a degraded savage, or a still more degraded voluptuary, such as Nero or Domitian. Indeed it is no easy matter to see what is the pleasure involved in it, unless it be a sort of exercise of power on the part of him who exerts it, an assertion that he is supreme over the sufferer, and can treat it according to his arbitrary will. If this is its conscious motive, it is a sort of insult to Almighty God, an usurpation of His supreme rights, and therefore an odious and miserable form of pride, none the less odious because of its pettiness and feeble stupidity. But after all we believe that mere wanton cruelty—cruelty for cruelty's sake—is of very rare occurrence. Children are cruel, not for the sake of the cruelty, but out of curiosity, just to see how the poor fly will behave when the pin has been inserted in his vitals, or when he has been robbed of half his legs. The brutes who skin cats do it, not for the pleasure of hearing their piteous howls, but from an idea that the skin is of more value when torn off the still breathing animal: the drover who beats his bullocks till they are black and blue does so either out of passion at their supposed obstinacy, which creates in him a blind desire for revenge, or because he finds that by these means he can get them more quickly along the road. If the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were to limit its attention to cruelty strictly wanton, its offices would soon be closed. We may therefore dismiss wanton cruelty as being a very exceptional manifestation of a morbid and diseased mind, and confine ourselves to such cruelty as involves some advantage or other, however slight, some pleasure or profit, real or imaginary, to him who inflicts it. This cruelty we have already termed accidental cruelty, inasmuch as it is not the final object aimed at, but is merely the necessary condition to some further end.

That this accidental cruelty is in some cases justifiable is admitted by all parties. No one ever turned vegetarian on account of the suffering inflicted on the ox and the sheep in the slaughter-house, or even preferred beef to mutton because such a choice involved the death of a smaller number of his irrational fellow-creatures. No one, we imagine, had ever any compunction for killing a wasp or a mosquito, although the pain they inflict on us is very trifling as compared with that which we inflict upon them by killing them. And on the other

hand, no one can deny that there are cases in which this accidental cruelty is quite unjustifiable. A man who tortures or kills his horse or dog to gratify some idle caprice, or to satisfy a momentary curiosity, is deserving of the strongest reprobation. But between the two acknowledged, though undefined, limits which mark off justifiable and unjustifiable cruelty, there are a vast number of cases, which are those in dispute. It is of these that we are now speaking. They would include vivisection for scientific purposes, bull-fighting, hunting, ratting, and other kindred sports, beside a number of miscellaneous instances, such as the crowding of animals in trains and ships, the use of long pointed spurs which bury themselves in the horses' flanks and cause acute pain, the slaughtering of calves by a slow and lingering process in order to ensure the whiteness of the meat, and many similar practices which will occur to the mind of our readers. In order to decide on such cases, we must first lay down certain general principles to guide us, which we may afterwards apply to individual instances in order that we may know where it is lawful to be cruel and where it is not, where cruelty is only apparent cruelty on account of some higher law which sets aside the lower obligation, and where it is real cruelty in the true sense of the word. We are, of course, speaking of cruelty as practised on the animals around us, and not on our fellow-men.

We have three questions to determine before we can arrive at any satisfactory solution of our difficulty.

- (1) Have animals, as such, any rights of their own?
- (2) If not, what is the ethical principle which forbids cruelty to animals and protects the brute creation against ill-treatment from man?
- (3) Is there any sort of proportion between the advantage accruing to man and the pain inflicted on the animal which limits the right of man to torture animals for his own pleasure and profit? and if so, where is this limit to be found?

The answer to the first question depends on the end or object for which animals exist upon the earth. Everything capable of growth and increase is intended by its Creator to attain to a certain perfection in its own order, and this perfection is the proximate end or object for which it is destined.¹

¹ Of course we are here speaking of the *internal*, not of the *external* end of created things. Their external end is proximately either the service of other creatures of an order higher than their own or the promotion of the glory of their Creator; ultimately and absolutely, it is in every case the promotion of the honour and glory of God.

In virtue of this intention on the part of the Creator, everything may be said in some sense to have a "right" not to be hindered in the attainment of its end, inasmuch as he who hinders it frustrates the proximate end for which its Creator destined it. Now, in this sense we may allow to animals certain rights of their own. But the rights which we thus concede to them are but a very shadowy possession after all, for we concede the same rights to the tree and the flower. The sprouting acorn has, in our present sense of the word, a right to develop into the giant oak, and the mustard seed to grow up into the mighty tree. There is no difference in kind between the right of the embryo within the chicken's egg to spring up into the perfect bird, and that of the embryo chesnut to spring up into the perfect tree, because the chicken and the chesnut alike belong to the strictly material order, and therefore are capable only of a material perfection; hence the one and the other have an equal right not to be impeded in the attainment of their several perfections. He who treads the flower beneath his feet violates a right which is of the same order as he who crushes the beetle or shoots the elephant in the chase. Animals have no rights as against man which are not also possessed by plants against man. Animals, again have no higher rights over plants than plants have over animals. The insect-catching plant has the same right to entrap the unwary fly within its sticky embraces that the horse or sheep has to browse upon the herbage. It is plain, then, that when we speak of the "rights" of animals we are using the word "right" in a transferred and analogical sense, and not in its proper meaning.

But here, perhaps, we shall be asked, You tell us that animals and plants are intended to attain to a certain perfection, and that in virtue of this intention on the part of their Creator they are invested with certain rights. Is not the same the case with man? Is not he too destined for a certain perfection, and will he not therefore possess rights superior perhaps to the rights of animals, but at the same time not different in kind from them? Is not the basis of the right identical in both cases, and therefore will not the nature of the right be essentially the same? To this we answer that the end for which man is destined is essentially different from that for which animals are destined, and therefore the right possessed by each is essentially different also; in fact, the right of the one is a right in the true and proper sense of the

word, the right of the other is no right at all. In the first place, the end for which animals are created, although proximately and immediately it may be said to be found in themselves, as consisting in the perfection of their nature in its own order, yet absolutely and ultimately it is something altogether outside of themselves. Nothing which is capable only of an inferior and lower perfection can have its absolute and ultimate end in itself, inasmuch as an inferior perfection is, strictly speaking, no perfection at all, it is merely a relative perfection, necessarily destined to contribute to some higher perfection outside of itself. Hence the absolute and ultimate end of animals is not to be found in themselves, but in some higher being outside of them, to whose higher perfection their lower perfections are meant to contribute and subserve.

But the case is quite different with man. Not only is the proximate and immediate end of man to be found within himself, but also his absolute and ultimate end. In his case the two coincide, inasmuch as the perfection of which he is capable is the very highest kind of perfection, the attainment of a true likeness to God, of a real conformity to the Divine Nature, and of an actual participation in It. "Be ye perfect, even as your Father Who is in heaven is perfect." We know no limit to the perfectibility of man, except the limit imposed by the fact of creation, whereas the perfectibility of animals has a hard and fast line which it cannot pass. We see at once, if we put the two kinds of perfection side by side, that they belong to an altogether different order. The perfection of animals is something momentary and transient; the perfection of man is something permanent and unchangeable. The perfection of animals is at best the perfection of mere gross matter and the faculties which belong to matter; the perfection of man is the perfection of the spiritual nature within him. The perfection of animals is the perfection of all that belongs essentially to this lower world of sense; the perfection of man is the perfection of all that raises him above the things of sense into the unseen and the immaterial world. The perfection of animals still leaves an impassable gulf between themselves and the most imperfect of men; the perfection of man destroys within him all that is of earth, and assimilates him, as far as a creature can be assimilated, to the nature of God. Such a perfection as man's is therefore one in comparison with which no other created perfection deserves the name; his end is one which all lower ends necessarily subserve.

And therefore his rights are paramount, and the rights of all lower creatures by the side of them are no rights at all, but disappear at once in comparison with his higher and, in relation to them, his absolute rights.

Thus the rights of animals fade away into thin air when brought face to face with the real and substantial rights of man, because every perfection of a lower order is necessarily subservient to every perfection of a higher order, and such is the relation between the perfections of animals and men. But we may prove our point in another way. In a created and contingent being a right can only exist side by side with a certain responsibility to the uncreated and self-existent Being Who granted the right. For what do we mean by the right of a created being? It is simply one of the many gifts which he receives from his Creator's hand, and his only claim to it is that it is necessary to him in order that he may fulfil the task which his Creator has intrusted to him, and which in virtue of his very nature it is his bounden duty to execute. If it is not within the range of his deliberate choice to execute this task or not, if he acts necessarily, following without any volition on his part the blind impulse of his nature, then he can have no duties and consequently no rights. Every individual man can claim certain rights from his fellow-man, because he has his duty to perform, and he cannot perform it unless these rights are granted to him. Thus the possession of rights implies the possession of intelligence and free-will. 'Rights' belong only to a rational nature. They are the correlative of duties. They involve the power of reflection and of deliberate choice between two courses of action. Now animals have no power of free choice, but simply follow the dictates of sense. They differ from the lifeless things around them in the capacity they possess of originating their own actions, and from the vegetable world in sensibility to pleasure and pain. But though they originate their own actions, they do not determine them. The actions of every animal are simply the resultant of certain pre-existing agencies. Given the natural constitution of a dog or an ape, *plus* the various external influences brought to bear upon him, and we can be absolutely certain of the way in which he will act. In other words, he has no power of choice, no responsibility, no duty, and as a consequence of this, no rights.

This is confirmed by the very definition of right. A right is defined as a "moral power which cannot be violated," and

a moral power implies two beings capable of moral action, one of whom exercises the right and the other observes it. In respect of morality, the animal and vegetable are on a level with the mere stones and stocks. None of them are capable of morality, and therefore cannot possess rights, any more than they can respect or neglect any moral duties, or deserve punishment or reward for their actions. It is true that in common parlance we speak of animals as if they were capable of meriting praise or blame, but such language is quite incorrect. The cur that filches the meat from his master's pantry deserves no blame, and the noble mastiff that ventures his own life to save his master's merits no praise. But one and the other simply follow blindly the instinct of their material nature. There is no vice in the theft; we beat the culprit, not to avenge any wrong committed, but in self-defence, to prevent the recurrence of a similar misfortune. There is no virtue in the mastiff's generous act of courage; we admire it, but merely as a gift which God has imparted to one of His creatures, just as we admire the perfect working of some elaborate machine, not as possessing any virtue of its own, but as a proof of its maker's skill. It is true that sentiment often goes beyond this; the imagination paints the dog's act of courage as having at least something in common with the act of natural virtue which a rational being might under similar circumstances perform, and we find it hard to resist the impression that there is some dash of merit in the irrational act of the animal; but any such recognition of a parallel between the two is founded on the false hypothesis that the distinctive faculties of men are but a higher stage of the same faculties which animals possess in an elementary and infinitesimal degree.

Thus we see that cruelty towards the brute creation is not prohibited by reason of any sort of rights which animals possess. This leads us on to our second question—What is the ethical principle which protects animals against ill-treatment on the part of men? Why do we justly condemn the man who tortures without a very good and sufficient reason the beast or bird or even the tiny insect? We have already indicated one answer to this question. For if the perfection of animals is entirely inferior and subordinate to the perfection of man, if the end for which animals exist is wholly subservient to the end for which man is destined, if the so-called rights of animals are no rights at all when brought face to face with the

rights of man, it follows that he who hinders the perfection, frustrates the end, or violates the rights of animals, is really hindering the perfection, frustrating the end, violating the rights, not of the animals themselves but of man. Here it is that the fault lies. It is man whom we injure when we needlessly ill-treat the brutes around us; it is to him that the animals transfer, so to speak, their imaginary claim upon us, and as possessed by him it is a real and substantial claim. When I destroy or injure any animal without cause, I rob my fellow men of one of the servants whom God has given them. For if every single animal, bird, fish, insect, which exists on earth, or in air, or in sea, exists for the use and service of man, man has a right to cast the mantle of his dignity over them all, and require us to respect them as ministers to his welfare and advantage. It may not be easy for us to understand how each single individual among all the teeming animal life upon our globe is destined for the service of man, but it is nevertheless an incontrovertible fact that directly or indirectly every fly, every mite, every animalcule, is created to assist man in the attainment of his end. Hence the reason why any mere wanton destruction of animal life is unjustifiable. Hence too the general consent that no mercy is to be shown to any animal dangerous to the life or well-being of man. In fact we may lay it down as a general rule that in our treatment of animals there should always be present to our minds in the first instance, not the interests of the animals themselves, but the interests of our fellow men. In many cases the application of this rule is sufficiently obvious: the cockney sportsman who takes advantage of the winter's frost to slaughter the future songsters of the coming spring, is justly condemned by all men of taste. But it is not so easy to see how it applies where the animals on whom the cruelty is exercised are our own property. If they belong to us why may we not use them as we please? If they have no rights of their own, what harm is there in our treating them according to our own sweet will, supposing that our treatment of them does not in any way affect the interests of our fellow men? To this we reply—that besides our duty to our fellow men, we also have a further duty. It is not enough if we respect those around us and abstain from doing any violence to the claims they have upon us. There is another individual in the world who has very substantial claims upon us, and whose interests we are bound to respect before all else. He who

wantonly ill-treats his horse or his dog may do no immediate injury to his fellow men, but he injures one who is nearer and dearer to him than all the world beside. It is himself whom he injures, it is his own perfection that he hinders; it is the attainment of his own end which he frustrates by his cruelty. He outrages one of the most sacred of all duties, the duty which he owes to himself; he degrades his own character; he fosters the worst elements in his nature. All suffering which we even witness, influences us either for good or evil; it either quickens our sympathies and fosters the spirit of mercy and compassion within us, or it hardens and brutalizes us. Mere familiarity with suffering does not render men insensible to it. The physician is often kind and gentle beyond the average of men. But familiarity with suffering, accompanied by any sort of pleasure in seeing others suffer, whether human beings or mere brute beasts, tends to destroy all the better part of our nature. Nay more, familiarity with suffering injures our character whenever we allow ourselves to regard it with indifference, and do not give play to those feelings of kindly sympathy which suffering is always intended to evoke in us. Thus we see that the first safeguard which protects animals against the cruelty of man is man's regard for his own interests and the interests of others, his duty to himself and to his fellow men.

But there is yet another safeguard which is of still greater importance. It is true that animals cannot be called in any sense representatives of their Creator. It is true that while we can say that he who outrages even the lowest and most degraded of men outrages and insults God Himself in Whose image every human being is created, we cannot use the same language of him who outrages the noblest of animals, simply because animals are not created in the image and likeness of God. Yet at the same time, although animals are not, like men, representatives of God in this lower world, yet their perfections are in a way imitations of the divine perfections. They are God's creatures, and creatures raised to the highest order of perfection in the world, short of the perfections of a rational nature. While they are separated from man by an impassable gulf, yet their faculties have such a close internal resemblance to the human faculties, that we apply to them, in a transferred and analogical sense, the very words by which we designate the higher faculties of men. We speak of them as intelligent, as reasoning with themselves, as deserving

reward and punishment. They often seem to us to be deliberating between two lines of conduct, and after deliberation to choose the one and reject the other. They counterfeit so well almost all the distinguishing characteristics of man, as to mislead even the acute and scientific observer into ignoring the wide gulf which separates them from man. Thus they are, man excepted, God's noblest work on earth ; far removed above the vegetable world, and farther still above the world of inanimate matter. It is because they thus bear the stamp of their Creator's wisdom that they have a claim, that they have a right to our respect. He who destroys wantonly the skilful work of some skilled artificer, shows at least some disregard for the author of it, and the disregard thus shown is an insult in proportion to the skill expended on the construction of the work. He who destroys without due cause anything beautiful in God's creation in some degree slights the Creator. The wanton destruction or injury of the most beautiful of God's irrational creatures indicates at least a forgetfulness of the respect due to God Himself. Or, to put the same argument in another light, God commits to the care of man the brute beasts to be employed by us as we think He would desire them to be employed, and therefore as His property they ought to have a sort of sacredness in our eyes, just as everything has a sort of sacred character if given to us by one whom we fondly love and respect. We should consider it a sort of profanation of the memory of our friend if we were to ill-treat a favourite animal which he had committed to our care. In the same way, it is a kind of disrespect to Almighty God, if we, without sufficient reason, torture or destroy the animals which He intrusts to us. We do not say that it is a sin, but it is at least an imperfection, an act which God cannot look upon with approbation. Thus it is ultimately the rights of God, the claim He has on us as Creator, that is the source and origin of the claim that animals have on the kindness and tender mercy of man.

We can add but a few words on the last of the three questions that were raised. It is not possible to give a very definite answer to it, or to fix exactly the proportionate amount of suffering which we are justified in inflicting on animals in order to save man from a certain given amount of pain, or to procure for him a certain given amount of pleasure. We can at best indicate a sort of general rule which may guide us rather in determining

the nature than the amount of the benefit to man which is a sufficient compensation for the death or agony of the brute. For in the first place we must remember, when we attempt to fix any sort of proportion between the amount of their respective sufferings and enjoyments, that there is an enormous difference *in kind* between the pleasure or pain suffered by men and that of which animals are capable. In the pain which man endures there are two elements; there is the mere physical pain which he endures in virtue of his animal nature, and which the animals share with him; and there is also a second element, consisting in the far more cruel pain arising from the prospect of the continued duration of present suffering. The former we may call the pain of immediate endurance, the latter the pain of prospect. The former is momentary, transient, and in most cases trifling; the sharp pang of the instant is soon past and gone; the latter is lasting, permanent, and constitutes the true agony of human suffering. "When will this be over?" is the thought which engrosses the sufferer, and when he knows that the moment of deliverance is close at hand, the bitterness of the suffering vanishes at once. Now, in animals, this latter element is altogether wanting; the pain of prospect is unknown to them; they live in the present; and have no power of looking forward, and therefore their pain is but the pain of the instant, and has none of the bitterness which arises from the expectation of its continuance. Hence their very worst agony is but trifling in comparison with the agony of which man is capable.

But putting aside this consideration, is there any possible case in which the agony inflicted on the brute is so out of all proportion to the advantage gained for man as to render the infliction of it unlawful? This depends on the nature of the advantage gained, whether it is a real, sound advantage to man's higher interests or not. If we can be certain that the torture of the poor dog or rabbit by vivisection is necessary in order that the human frame may be delivered from those maladies which hinder the full development of our spiritual nature, then we ought not take into consideration for a moment the suffering inflicted on the brutes. But if, on the other hand, the pain they endure confers at best but a doubtful benefit on man, if the same end might be attained by other and equally efficient means, then the respect we owe to our fellow men, the respect we owe to ourselves, and to some

extent the respect we owe to God as Creator, require that we should spare them the cruel tortures of the dissecting knife. If the undoubted physical benefits which are to be gained in the hunting-field could be gained without the sacrifice of hare or fox, then let hunting by all means be avoided by every merciful man.

In the case of vivisection, we have to be guided by the testimony of the most eminent surgeons and physiologists: and they tell us almost without exception that the knowledge gained from it is of the utmost consequence to the success of the future operator, and very valuable to the scientific student of human physiology. If this statement is true, then it would therefore be almost a crime to relinquish it altogether, especially as chloroform can be always administered to the poor animal where there is reason to think that the torture inflicted is very great. The objection to the hunting-field may be still more summarily dismissed; in spite of a certain amount of suffering during the last part of the run, the fox and the hare are on the whole gainers by the sportman's favourite pursuit, there is no one who so detests the vulpecide or the poacher as the country gentleman. And apart from this, the country life of England would be robbed of one of its greatest attractions, and most healthy and invigorating pastimes, by a step which under pretence of mercy would soon result in the total extermination of poor Master Reynard from the soil where he now enjoys an immunity from attack which would scarcely be secured for him by his own personal harmlessness and honesty.

To sum up our conclusions. Animals have no rights of their own, and therefore cruelty is no violation of their rights. But it is a violation of the rights of our fellow men, it is an injury to ourselves, it may be an act of positive disrespect to our Creator. The infliction of suffering is not in itself cruelty; it is justifiable, nay more, it is a duty when it confers a certain, a solid good, however small, on the spiritual nature of man. For the dignity of man as erected in God's image, so completely raises him above the rest of creation that all else are but his ministers and servants to be employed for his profit and advantage; and any consideration we may have for animals disappears at once when brought face to face with the higher interests of man's moral and spiritual nature, with his eternal destinies, and with his capacity of approaching ever nearer and nearer, though ever at an infinite distance, to the absolute perfection of God Himself.

R. F. C.

The Dutch War in Sumatra.

AMONGST other topics of interest with which the daily press will have familiarized most of our readers during these two last years, we may assign an at least secondary place to the Acheenese War on the part of the Dutch. The telegraphs have informed us of the disembarkation of troops, of the bombardment of sea-port towns, of negotiations, engagements, sieges of strongholds, assaults, temporary reverses which were followed by partial successes, leading up to a final victory of the Dutch arms. Our readers will excuse us for reminding them that the kingdom of Acheen is in the north-west portion of the island of Sumatra, the eastern coast of which forms the shore of the Straits of Malacca, which join the Sea of Bengal with the Chinese Sea, and lead to that wonderful Archipelago, studded with Dutch settlements and dependencies, which taken together form a territory as large as France, Italy, and Germany conjointly.

It is foreign to our purpose to give a detailed description of this rich and magnificent dominion. It will be enough for us to explain the connection between it and the island which was the scene of the late conflict. While crediting Holland with these vast possessions, we must not forget to observe that the authority of the ruler country is exercised in various degrees over the dependencies. Besides the conquered territories, where the local government and administration are manned by Dutch officials, we have states governed by native princes holding their investiture from Holland as from their lord-paramount, with a Dutch resident ever at their sides to whisper advice, encouragement, and if needs be, threats, which, as these native rulers know what is good for them, usually meet with ready and respectful attention. In other territories Dutch influence has more or less share in determining the choice of the successor to the vacant throne, the occupants of which are bound to Holland by treaties of amity and commerce, but are not shackled in

their home government by the constant supervision of a resident holding instructions from Batavia or the Hague. Before the late war, the island of Sumatra, the area of which exceeds by more than forty thousand square miles, or by one-third of their surface, the whole extent of the British Islands, was, with the exception of the kingdom of Acheen, a Dutch dependency. In other words, a rough calculation would have given seven-eighths of its territory to the Dutch, the remaining eighth forming the dominions of the Sultan of Acheen. The population is sparse, and not over given to work. Hence the export trade of the island is far below what its prodigious fertility and its mineral wealth in gold, iron, and tin would lead one to expect. But our present concern being with the war, what most regard us are the characteristics and *morale* of the natives. Leaving out of account the savage and almost cannibal tribes of the Battaks, and a few thousand European, Chinese, and Arab settlers mingled with the indigenous population, we are in presence of two distinct races, the Malays, to the number of from two to three millions, scattered over the Dutch territory, and the Acheenese, who may be roughly estimated at three or four hundred thousand. Despite their proximity, the Acheenese present to the most cursory spectator features which show that they are of another than a Malay race. But it is not so easy to assign the precise branch of the human family to which they belong. According to some ethnologists, they are a Cingalese colony from the Malabar coast, settled in the north of Sumatra since the first century of our era. In the view originated by Logan, the learned editor of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, who devoted a lifetime to the study of the extreme East, the Acheenese are a mixed race, partly Malay, partly Annamite. It appears to us that both views are compatible. Considering the position and scanty population of Sumatra, it may be permitted to us to assume, that successive immigrations from Hindustan, Cochin China, the neighbouring Malacca peninsula, would have mingled with the indigenous tribes of the Battaks and formed in course of time the race with whom we are now concerned.

As for their character, there is far less question. From the earliest times the mariners and merchants who have come into contact with them describe them as insolent, treacherous, cruel, and grasping. Yet may they boast of a certain morality, as appears by the Draconian severity with which theft and adultery

are punished. Their military valour and love of independence, and their rigid temperance, form the bright side of the Acheenese character. They take the greatest pride in their arms, and never appear abroad but fully equipped. Full of vigour and energy in the toils of war and navigation, the men leave all productive labour to the weaker sex, and give themselves wholly to amusements in which cock-fighting holds a prominent place. They are decently clothed, and, though their dwellings and domestic arrangement witness to a lower degree of civilization than that which meets the traveller in China and Japan, they are far superior to those of the natives of the West Coast of Africa. They can also boast of a literature comprising several chronicles, and such works as the *Custom of the Port of Acheen*, and a Court ceremonial entitled the *Duties of the Prince*. To these may be added some works of controversy in favour of Islam. Their religion seems to be a medley of Buddhism imported among them in the sixth century, and of Islamism introduced in the thirteenth century by the Arab merchants. There seems, however, to be reasons for believing that Islamism pure and undefiled has made rapid progress among them within the last twenty years, and thus to have contributed not a little to stir up and to sustain the spirit with which they withstood for two years the aggressions of the Dutch. Whatever be the case, it must be borne in mind that, though in a state of seeming decay in the European portion of the Ottoman dominions, which may be partly accounted for by its closer contact with what is called "modern civilization," Islamism is in most parts of the Asiatic continent making rapid advances. The waves of the Mussulman revival have reached the far distant Malay population, a result due, no doubt, in a great part, to the modern improvements of navigation which facilitate the pilgrimage to Mecca, whither thousands go yearly from the extremity of Asia, to invigorate their fervour at the very cradle of their faith.

The political constitution of Acheen lodges the supreme power in the body of the *Panglimas*, or hereditary governors of the provinces. The Sultan is their nominee, and they reserve the right to depose him if he rule not according to the customs, or betray the interests of the country. From what we have been able to learn, this constitution does not work well. On the one hand, the Sultan endeavours to play the hereditary chieftains against one another, while it no less frequently happens that these

latter combine against him, and render impossible the exercise of the central power. One of the effects of the late war has been to elicit a series of reports and detailed communications to the Dutch Chamber, which would supply any one so minded with complete materials for a history of the kingdom of Acheen. We feel in no way tempted to avail ourselves of them for that purpose, yet we may cull from them the few following indications which may help us to realize the relations of the belligerent parties.

It was in 1511 that the Portuguese, who had got a footing in Malacca, first brought the Acheenese into contact with the races of the West. Acheen was, at that time, a portion of the kingdom of Pedir, which, in its turn, acknowledged the Suzerainty of Pasei. The then chief of Acheen, Ibrahim, a descendant of a Mussulman, who had introduced Islamism into the island, and, by his influence with the natives, had been promoted to the chieftaincy, rebelled a few years later (1521) against his father, and resolved to spare no effort to shake off the yoke of Pedir. The Portuguese came from Malacca to exact satisfaction for the plunder of a ship and the massacre of her crew. Ibrahim was equal to the occasion, he routed them, took their artillery and pursued them to a stronghold of the King of Pasei, to which he laid siege. Driven at length to seek safety on board their ships, they were cut off in their retreat, and numbers of them were slain. This victory wholly inverted the relations which had hitherto subsisted between Acheen and Pedir and Pasei. The vassal was now lord-paramount.

In 1567 the crown passed to another dynasty. Mansur Shah, inflamed with hatred against the Portuguese, gathered the several tribes of the Archipelago in a coalition against them. Within a brief space he is said to have raised and equipped an army of fifteen thousand Acheenese, with no less than two hundred pieces of artillery. Four hundred Turks were enrolled in this levy, a fact which will appear less extraordinary when we remember that the successor of Ibrahim, Ali-ed-din Shah, sent to beg the alliance and support of the Sultan of Constantinople. Mansur having failed in his attack on the Portuguese settlements, made use of his army to consolidate and extend his power at home. He favoured commercial enterprize, and traded at every Asiatic port, from Arabia to Japan.

At the close of the eventful sixteenth century, the drama

of Acheenese history gets somewhat more complicated by the arrival at Acheen of two Dutch vessels, the *Lion* and *Lioness*. The Portuguese secretly stirred up the suspicions of the Sultan against these new comers, whose ships were treacherously attacked, and Cornelius Houtman, one of the captains, was slain in the engagement which ensued, while his brother Friedrich was made prisoner. The next year (1600) witnessed new arrivals from Holland, new intrigues on the part of the Portuguese.

The Dutch commander revenged his countrymen by blowing up or sinking several Portuguese and Acheenese vessels, but failed to deliver his captive compatriot. In 1601 the States General sent out four large vessels, well armed and equipped, charged with the more peaceful errand of negotiating a treaty of alliance with the Sultan of Acheen, and of obtaining, at all costs, the release of his captives. Gerard de Roy, the commander of the expedition, was the bearer of an autograph letter from the Stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Nassau. The negotiations succeeded. An Acheenese ambassador was sent to Holland, and the Portuguese influence in Sumatra was destroyed beyond recall.

In 1615, the Sultan of Acheen led in person against the Portuguese stronghold of Malacca a fleet of three hundred ships, manned by sixty thousand men. A furious naval engagement raged for days and nights together. The Acheenese at length withdrew, but unmolested by the Portuguese, whose means of attack were all but exhausted. A like attempt was repeated in 1628, but the Portuguese gave so good an account of their enemies, that the Acheenese lost nearly the whole of their fleet, and the greater part of their men, a reverse they have not quite recovered even at this day.

In 1621 the English appear on the scene, represented by Admiral Lancaster, the bearer of a most complimentary letter from James the First. In his reply to this friendly overture, the Sultan asked his Britannic Majesty to pick him out two English wives, binding himself in case of issue to confer on his heir the kingdom of the "Pepper Coast," and to allow full freedom to all English vessels trading in the ports he would reserve to himself. As might be expected, the British Solomon could not undertake the share allotted to him in the tempting bargain, but by way of compensation, sent to his uxorious ally two cannons, of which we shall have occasion to make mention

hereafter. Some five years later Louis the Thirteenth of France sent, as his envoy to the Court of Acheen, Admiral de Beaulieu, who paid a pretty long visit. In his reports to his royal master, the admiral seems to have been dazzled by the wealth and magnificence of Sultan Iskander. His mention of a mineral to be used in firing enemies' ships suggests that the Eastern potentate had "struck oil" long before this source of rapid gains and of colossal fortunes had revealed itself to our enterprising transatlantic cousins. That the Sultan took also a lively interest in the good old sports, may be gathered from a tragic tale told by our Ambassador, who saw an unhappy courtier flayed alive, because his bantam had occasioned His Majesty a heavy pecuniary loss, by showing the white feather. De Beaulieu was further impressed with the daring valour and the military qualities of the natives. Despite all these civilities, which are of course very pleasant to read about, the Dutch continued not only to hold, but to improve their position, for in 1637, we find them, to the exclusion of all other foreigners, with the monopoly of the trade on the west coast of Sumatra.

We pass by other particulars of Acheenese history as of slight interest. The eighteenth century was a period of decay occasioned by intestine conflicts which broke out afresh at every new election of a Sultan, and at its close the Dutch were enveloped in the naval and colonial annihilation which the contest of the French Republic and Empire with Great Britain entailed on our lively neighbours. The islet of Decima, off the coast of Japan, was the only spot in all the East where the flag of the Netherlands could be unfurled without inviting attack, its insignificance having shielded it from hostile notice.

At the general peace, after the final overthrow of Napoleon, England consented to restore the Dutch possessions in the Eastern Archipelago. Sumatra was considered as a party-wall between the British and Dutch possessions, and in order to maintain their preponderance, the former continued to hold Fort Marlborough on the western coast of the island, besides forbidding the Dutch to treat with the native chiefs without previous recourse to the British authorities. By a treaty concluded in 1819 with the Sultan of Acheen, an English factory was established in his capital, and a resident was accredited to him, to the exclusion of every other power.

The proximity of Sumatra to Java brought the population

of these two islands into a contact too close for the maintenance of peaceable relations. In 1821 the Dutch, in order to avenge an insult to their flag, declared war against the Sultan of Palembang. The British could not but feel that to interfere with the punishment this potentate had so richly deserved could only have been to shield with their prestige the piracy which infests these seas, while to maintain galling restrictions on the commercial or territorial progress of the Dutch could have no other effect than to foster the contempt of the native chieftains for Europeans, and to encourage piracy. The vast extent of their possessions in these parts rendered it impossible to put any effective check on the predatory propensities of the inhabitants of the immense coast line of Sumatra. By a new treaty in 1824, the Dutch, on consenting to forego all claims to the port of Malacca, were left at full liberty to settle their little disputes with the several chieftains of Sumatra, without previous recourse to the British authorities. They were free to punish, conquer, annex the south and western portions of the island, but a reserve was made with regard to the point which commanded the entrance to the Straits of Malacca, the highway to the Annamite and Chinese Empires, and to the Japanese Archipelago. The neutrality of the Sultan of Acheen was therefore determined upon, as a means of keeping the Dutch from sharing the possession of the key to so important a passage.

The treaty of 1824 had results of two kinds. Ere half a century had elapsed, the Dutch, by force of arms and by diplomatic tact, had gained possession of seven-eighths of the island, and set about putting down with a strong hand the piracy which rendered the seas unsafe for any but well-armed and carefully guarded merchant ships. The northern coasts were, however, by no means secure from this pest. The Sultans of Acheen, relying on the support of the British Government, paid little attention to the representations of Holland, and this power, in its turn, feeling itself precluded from all appeal to arms, and bound down by the express terms of the treaty of 1824 to "a moderate exercise of European influence," naturally shaped its appeals for redress with a circumspection, and scarcely disguised timidity, which rendered its diplomatic action wholly ineffectual.

The limits of this paper will not allow of our attempting to give a catalogue of the atrocities perpetrated with the connivance, to say no more, of the Acheenese Government, by the

Turcomans of the sea. It will be enough to say that the Dutch, acting up to the spirit and letter of the treaty of 1824, strove to obtain from the Sultan of Acheen a satisfactory assurance that he would not traverse their efforts to ensure the safety of those waters, and to render amenable to the recognized processes of international law all attempts at disturbance. These very reasonable demands of the Dutch authorities were met by the Sultan with evasions and false answers. Being a wise man in his generation, and feeling that he could no longer rely on British support, he sent Sidi-Mohammad as a secret agent to Europe in quest of other alliances. The history of this adventurer is sufficiently curious. A victim of the *potestas patria*, which in Acheen, as in old Rome, invests the father of the household with the power of life and death over his children, when all gentler methods of family discipline seemed inadequate to the requirements of the case, he was put to sea in an open boat without stores of any kind. The intentions of his father were however frustrated only just in time. The starving waif was picked up by a French vessel, and as the lad appeared apt, the captain had him educated. On reaching manhood, Sidi-Mohammad returned home and acquired a good deal of influence with his countrymen, the result in part of his veneer of French education, and of his not wholly veracious boasts of relations with men of the highest rank. The Sultan took him at his own valuation, and hence in 1852 he appeared at Saint-Cloud, where the then Prince-President received him with all civility. Believing, or feigning to believe, that he had secured for his sovereign a most mighty ally, our envoy went on his way back to Constantinople, where he had an audience of the Sultan, thence to Mecca, where he was received with public honours by the Sherif. On his return home he laid himself out to oppose the Dutch influence—no easy task, for the Dutch agents managed their affairs with that discretion, method and perseverance which are usually crowned with success.

The first envoy now sent to Acheen by Holland was the captain of a brig. Regarding as a slight to his dignity the low rank of this ambassador, the Sultan was hardly dissuaded from visiting the fancied insult on him. He further complained that while Napoleon the Third had made most valuable presents and magnificent offers, the Governor of Batavia had forgotten this indispensable preliminary to all Oriental negotiations. His

Excellency seems to have taken the first hint, for in the following year (1856) the mission of the captain of the brig was taken up by an officer of distinction, who sailed in the frigate *Prinz Frederik der Nederlanden*. The new ambassador ended by obtaining in 1859 the ratification of a treaty, which, with an amnesty for all former grievances on either side, allowed all European vessels free access and trade, and promised that each of the contracting parties would protect the subjects of the other. Piracy, the slave-trade, and wrecking were to be utterly abolished. Having concluded the treaty, the next thing was to see it executed, and by representations or severe reprisals to discourage every violation of its stipulations. The Acheenese and their dependents did not fail to afford the Dutch occasion for the use of both these means of repression. Things came at length to such a pass that the Governor of Singapore issued a proclamation, warning European traders of the dangers threatening them in the Acheenese waters, while the French Admiralty spared no pains to put merchant vessels on their guard. The outcry against the Dutch, who had succeeded in clearing the rest of the Archipelago, became loud and widespread, while in their turn, they cast the blame upon England, as hindering them from taking efficient action by the clauses of the treaty of 1824. The traders of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, seemed to have acknowledged the validity of this excuse, for they protested against the protection granted to the Acheenese pirates, and demanded the reversal of a policy so inimical to the interests of commerce. At length came the year of grace, 1870, when a twofold treaty was concluded between Holland and Great Britain, the former ceding to the English its possessions on the Gold Coast, and England leaving the Dutch free to deal as they saw fit with Acheen.

Holland, not caring for an extension of territory, but wishing only to have safe and peaceable neighbours, continued its recourse to negotiations, eschewing all threats and ultimatums. The circumstances seemed to favour this pacific policy, for Mahmond Ala-ed-din-Iskander had just succeeded to the throne at the ripe age of sixteen. Unfortunately for the prospects of a pacific solution, the young Prince was ruled by the Arab party, which was headed by the already mentioned Sidi-Mohammad. When therefore the Dutch agent, Krayenoff, came in 1871 to complain of the continual violations of the treaty of 1857, he was answered by a claim to Singkel and

Baroes, of which the Dutch had possessed themselves in 1840. His second attempt at any interview with the Acheenese authorities was frustrated by hollow excuses. An autograph letter of the Governor-General of the Dutch-Indian possessions could not be noticed till after an interval of five weeks, because the fast of Ramadan suspended all business. Such at least was the answer made to him. Meanwhile, overtures were being made to the Sublime Porte, at Versailles, and at London. The King of Holland, hearing of this, prevailed upon these Powers to leave him to deal with Acheen as he saw fit. The Dutch agents hereupon drove the Acheenese diplomatists into a corner, and the issue between the contesting parties was soon narrowed to the alternative of *bona fide* peaceful relations, or of war to the knife. The Acheenese were preparing for the latter, as was shown by the numerous imports of arms and ammunition.

No time was to be lost. Heer Nienwenhuisen, the Vice-president of the Council of the Indies, was sent with a naval squadron, having on board a division of five thousand troops commanded by General Koehler. His instructions were either to obtain from the Sultan apologies for the past, and a guarantee for the future, or forthwith to commence hostilities. The *Citadel of Antwerp* anchored off Acheen on the 22nd of March, 1873. The summary demands of the negotiator were met with the cool request to wait for six months, until the Sultan's envoy to Constantinople had returned. There was nothing for it but to declare war, which was done on the 26th of March. The troops disembarked on the western side of the capital, on the 8th and 9th of April. They had no sooner landed than volley upon volley was fired into their ranks by invisible assailants, who, luckily for them, were but sorry marksmen. They next had to encounter a furious bayonet charge, and it was only the grape shot of the steam batteries which compelled the enemy to retreat within their defences. The marshy and wooded ground which lay between the Dutch troops and the Kraton, the fortified palace of the Sultan, prevented the use of artillery, and forced them to advance under a continual fire. It was then discovered that the chassepots taken at Metz, or on the disastrous field of Sedan, had found their way to Sumatra, having been bought in large quantities by the natives from the Germans.

The Dutch troops continued, however, to advance, despite these disadvantages. On the 14th they took possession of the

Mesjid, or mosque, which formed, as it were, an outwork to the palace fortress. They had been there but an hour, when an awful fire from the Kraton mowed down the companies who held the mosque. General Koehler was shot through the heart while looking through a field-glass to discover the quarter whence this storm of iron came. Colonel Van Dalen, who at once succeeded him, provided for the safety of his men, and delayed his attack on the Kraton until the 16th, in order to bring his artillery up to the front. On the 16th the Dutch advanced to the assault, but were met by so murderous a fire that there was nothing for it but to withdraw, which they did in good order and without molestation from the enemy. What was to be done? Their artillery was not heavy enough for such a siege, the hot season was coming on apace, bringing in its train diseases which would still further reduce their already diminished numbers. It was now plain that war with Acheen meant war in the most serious sense of the term.

This failure, which closed the first act in the drama of the Dutch war with Acheen, suggests to us, as it did to the defeated party, that war with any of the Asiatic races has entered upon a new phase. The increased and ever increasing facilities of communication have made them better acquainted with us and with our resources, besides enabling them to improve their armaments and their tactics. The day is now gone by, and in the interests of peace and international justice we cannot say that we regret it, when a mere handful of Europeans can hope to subdue a vast empire. A war in Asia is now no child's play, but a serious business. Besides these obvious considerations, others no less urgent presented themselves. A power which holds under its rule some twenty millions of foreigners with a motley army of some thirty thousand men, can hardly afford to pocket a defeat. The Dutch Government therefore devoted all its energies to fit out an expedition on a scale which would place the final results beyond all doubt. Van Swieten, a retired general, and ex-Governor of the west coast of Sumatra, volunteered his services; they were accepted, and he was sent out as commander-in-chief, with full powers to negotiate.

The new commander began by establishing an efficient blockade of the Acheenese ports and coasts, not before it was time, as the results showed, for of European vessels of different nationalities not a few were found to be conveying to the enemy artillery and other contraband of war. The captures made on

board the prahs of the natives supplied instances of the same cosmopolitan impartiality, for an Englishman, a Dane, and even a Dutchman, were found among the crew of one and the same prah. At the same time the captains of the cruisers were commissioned to ensure the neutrality of the princes or chieftains tributary to the Sultan, in the coming contest. Their diplomacy, probably aided by gold, was for the most part crowned with success. It was only in one or two places that they felt compelled to enforce their arguments by means of the cannon.

But though the Dutch had isolated the Sultan of Acheen, they were aware that they had before them a serious enterprize. The report of a native Batavian spy, who had offered his services to the Dutch authorities, and whose hair-breadth escapes from detection and its attendant penalties read like a novel of Wilkie Collins', gave them to understand that they would need heavy artillery and in plenty, that the whole population were arming for the fight, and preparing a warm reception for the invaders. There were, however, a few crumbs of comfort in the report; the blockade had seriously interfered with ball-practice, by hindering the importation of cartouches, which the Acheenese could not make for themselves; provisions were scarce, no fish was to be had, and the want of opium was severely felt, all owing to the vigilance of the Dutch cruisers.

Van Swieten made his preparations in consequence, and was soon at the head of an army of fifteen thousand men, with a proportionate number of coolies for the transport service, a medical staff, hospital and ambulance attendants, army chaplains, in a word, with all the modern accompaniments of an army in campaign. He embarked the 20th of November, in the presence of an immense but silent crowd, on board the *Prinz Alexander der Nederlanden*, for with a chivalrous sympathy with the feelings of so many who were beholding the departure of some one near and dear to them on a perilous expedition, the noble commander had forbidden every manifestation usual on such occasions. Nor were there wanting other reasons for taking a serious view of the matter; the troop ships being necessarily few in number, were unwholesomely crowded, and it was soon beyond question that besides the soldiers, the fleet had taken on board an implacable foe, more to be dreaded than the Acheenese, the cholera! By the 29th the whole squadron was at anchor before Acheen, and out of the fifteen vessels of which it consisted, no less than thirteen reported cases of this fatal disease.

Wishing to spare the effusion of blood and the life of his men, Van Swieten addressed a letter to the Sultan declaring the pacific intentions of the Dutch, demanding only that he would agree to cooperate with Holland in maintaining the freedom of commerce and the safety of navigation, hinting too, that in case of refusal, the writer had overwhelming forces at his back. The unfortunate bearer of this missive was tortured to death. There was plainly nothing for it but to fight.

On the 6th of April, after waiting for the rain to cease, the disembarkation of the forces began, and was completed by the 11th. Instead of choosing the route taken by the ill-starred General Koehler, which, among other disadvantages, did not permit the bringing up of heavy guns, the invading force with its artillery went up the river of Acheen, in order to take the Kraton on the north side. The first serious engagement on their way thither was at the fort of Cotta-perak; the Acheenese made a heroic resistance, and succumbed only in a hand-to-hand fight. To the perils from the enemy were added the vertical rays of the sun, which made the skin peel off every exposed part, the marshy nature of the ground, the fetid exhalations from the putrifying carcasses of dead horses and cattle. As it was foolhardiness to ascend the river without clearing its banks, the Dutch progressed slowly, under a galling fire, and took no less than nine days over an advance of scarce a couple of miles. The Acheenese were triumphant, and the report got abroad that this second expedition was as great a failure as its predecessor. The Sultan of Pedir, unluckily for himself, did not wait for its confirmation, but openly declared for the Acheenese, to whom he sent an auxiliary corps of fifteen hundred regular troops. The example might prove contagious, so to ensure the faithfulness of their allies and the neutrality of those who had engaged to remain silent and inactive spectators of the struggle, the Dutch detached a division from the squadron lying off Acheen, which burnt Pedir, blew up the fort, and ravaged the circumjacent country.

At length the Dutch made good their position before the Mesjid where General Koehler had lost his life. They took some time to rest and to fix their batteries. By the 11th of January, 1874, they had taken the Mesjid, at the cost of seventeen killed and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded. Extending their batteries so as nearly to surround the Kraton, they kept up a constant fire. The Acheenese made several furious

sallies, and in one night no less than four hundred of them were killed.

After a bombardment of twenty days the Dutch entered the fortress, just in time to behold the flight of the remnant of the garrison by the only outlet their batteries had left free. Among the fifty-six heavy guns left on the ramparts, were found the two presented by James the First of England, inscribed, *Jacobus Rex*. A.D. 1617. A letter of Louis-Philippe, dated 1843, was found among the papers the Sultan left behind him.

The fugitive monarch died soon after of the cholera; his cousin, Toimankoi-Dased, succeeded him. The reality of power was, however, in the hands of a council composed mainly of the Arab, or war party, which reorganized the army and obliged the Dutch to stand siege in their turn. Van Swieten fortified his position, and confined himself to beating off the assaults of the enemy, now destitute of artillery. The neighbouring chieftains came in, one after the other, to make their submission, and the Dutch commander, while sparing no pains to provide for the health and comfort of his troops, sought to disarm the people of the capital by conciliation. By the end of April Van Swieten considered his work as done, and he retired to Europe, leaving another officer in command. But it soon appeared that the war was not yet over. The Penang telegraph began in September to give notice of renewed attacks occurring, first fortnightly, then weekly. At last, by the end of last November, it became evident that new efforts were required to secure advantages which had cost the Dutch two millions of money, besides the loss of two thousand and forty-two lives. Before sending out another expedition, the Dutch Government resolved to see what could be done by the army of occupation. Its tactics were at once changed; instead of remaining on the defensive, well-armed detachments were sent in different directions, to attack the enemy in his strongholds. Four of the most important of these were taken last February. The several chiefs, and the Rajahs of Kloempang, Pasangan, and Gighen sent in their submission, and by the end of last May the Dutch forces no longer met with any serious resistance. The strict blockade of the coast maintained by the Dutch hindering the importation of ammunition, which the Acheenese were unable to manufacture for themselves, necessarily rendered the cessation of the war a mere matter of calculation.

The triumph of the Dutch, so far complete, is due to the

heroism of their small but valiant army, whose military virtues, in the presence of a determined enemy, and in a most unhealthy climate, command our admiration and respect. The intelligence which has reached Europe since the date at which our narrative stops, seems to leave it uncertain whether the struggle is altogether ended, whether piracy may now be considered as a thing of the past, and the safety of navigation and trade as assured. As Catholics, while applauding the efforts of the soldier and statesman to open new markets for the productions of industry, we gladly hail in the recent successes of the Dutch the decline of an influence no less hostile to the spread of Christianity and moral civilization, than to the security and freedom of commerce.

J. M'S.

Old York.

PART THE THIRD.

IN our last number we related the restoration of a disfranchised alderman to his freedom of the city of York, conferred on the condition of his not ceasing to be an alderman. It may be thought a singular condition to impose, for the position of alderman was most honourable and "worshipful;" but the burdens of office were considerable, and some citizens shrunk from the dignity. We will give an instance in which "being gently exhorted and required" was insufficient to induce an alderman elect to take his oath of office, and sharper measures to enforce compliance were resorted to. A few days' imprisonment brought the reluctant alderman to a proper sense of public duty. The date of the following entry in the House Books is 11 January, 22^o Eliz. 1578.

"And now Mr. James Birkbie, gentleman, alderman, duly elect in room of Mr. John Bean, late alderman, deceased, at commandment of my Lord Mayor came personally before these presents, and albeit he was gently exhorted and required, as well by my said Lord Mayor as other his brethren aldermen, &c., to take his oath of alderman accustomed, yet neither by fair means nor otherwise would he take his oath of alderman accustomed, but very obstinately refused so to do. And forasmuch as he thus continued still in his said wilfulness, and would in nowise be persuaded, it was therefore agreed by the whole consent of all the said worshipful presents that the same Mr. Birkbie for his said obstinacy and disobedience, for the perilous example of others, shall be forthwith committed to ward, unto such time as he will be justified according to his franchise oath, to the sheriffs of this city to be by them kept in ward in John Trewe's house" (n. 27, fol. 264).

"John Trewe's house" was a prison on Ousebridge, kept by a man of that name, to which prisoners of the better sort were

sometimes committed. We shall have occasion to mention it again when we come to the history of Mrs. Clitheroe. Meanwhile we return to our records of festivities at York.

And first, as a specimen of the reception of a Lord President, let us take the entry into York of the well known persecutor of the Catholics, Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon. The resolution of the Lord Mayor and aldermen is dated November 28, 15^o Eliz., 1572.

"Forasmuch as it is credibly reported that the right honourable the Earl of Huntingdon, now President of the Queen's Majesty's honourable Council established in this north parts will be here at this city to-morrow, it is therefore agreed by these presents that he shall be met at Micklyth Bar [Micklegate¹ Bar] by my Lord Mayor and his brethren the aldermen in scarlet, the sheriffs in their best apparel, and the twenty-four in crimson, and certain other of the most honest and substantial citizens in their best apparel, and welcome his lordship to this city.

"And further it is agreed by these presents that the said Lord President at his said repair hither shall be presented with a tun of Gascoigne wine, four dozens of mayne bread, two loaves of white sugar of 20*lbs.* weight or thereabouts, and two gallons of hippocras of the chamber charges; and that the chamberlains shall have warning with all speed to provide for the same" (n. 25, fol. 29).

"And further it is agreed by these presents that my Lady Mayoress and her sisters shall go this day and present as was given in present to the Countess of Sussex at her coming to this city, and it to be borne of the chamber charges" (n. 25, fol. 31). As it was my Lord Mayor and "his brethren" the aldermen, so my Lady Mayoress was accompanied by "her sisters" the aldermen's wives.

Gifts of wine to the city's friends are often mentioned, and the *honorarium* of the Recorder of York and of the City's Counsel learned in the Law, seems to have been given in this form.

"11th March, 21^o Eliz.

"It is agreed by these presents that Sir Thomas Gargrave, knight, shall have half a tun of Gascony wine, and Mr. Serjeant Rhodes and Mr. Recorder either of them to have hogshhead of

¹ "Mickle, much, great.—North. Gate, a way, path, street, or road. 'Go thy gate,' go thy way."—Halliwell.

the like wine. And the same to be provided for and paid by the chamberlains" (n. 27, fol. 148).

"And whereas the 11th of March last past it was agreed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that Sir Thomas Gargrave, knight, should have half a tun of Gascony wine, to be provided for and paid by the chamberlains, which Sir Thomas died before the delivery of the said wine, yet notwithstanding it is now agreed by these presents that the said half tun of wine shall be delivered to the executors of the said Sir Thomas Gargrave, knight. And further it is agreed by these presents that allowance for the 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ that the said Sir Thomas had to put into the lottery for this Corporation shall be demanded of his executors" (n. 27, fol. 150).

In 1582, September 7, the town clerk records, "it is agreed that whereas my Lord President hath bestowed on my Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City of York two bucks, to make merry withal, that the same bucks shall be eaten on Tuesday next at the house of Francis Hynce, by my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, sheriffs, twenty-four, and chamberlains, and all their ladies and wives" (n. 27, fol. 60).

And December 17, 1600, "Whereas the waits have put in a petition requiring, in regard that two or three of the aldermen do make their beef breakfasts in some one morning all at one time so as they cannot conveniently serve them all, that either they would make their breakfasts several days, or else that the said waits may be discharged of that service: it is therefore now agreed by all these presents that the said waits shall be discharged from that service and not attend nor play at any of the said breakfasts unless they be sent for, and being sent for by divers the older to be preferred."

In curious contrast with all this feasting comes the following entry, 11th January, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$: "Also it is agreed that when the assessment shall be made, order shall be given unto the constable to command their parishioners to abstain from Wednesday suppers, and from eating of flesh meat upon fast-days, and from making feasts and suppers on Fridays and fasting-days at night, to the end that by such sparing and forbearing they may be better able to give towards the relief of the poor, and that also the citizens shall be exhorted or persuaded thereunto by my Lord Mayor or Mr. Recorder at such common assemblies hereafter as they or either of them shall think meet; and it is further ordered that at the making of the assessment above-mentioned

for relief of the poor, consideration shall be had of every man's ability of those that shall be assessed and what he may have and spare weekly by reason of the forbearing of the said suppers and to be assessed accordingly, as in that behalf shall be thought meet."

This is grounded, no doubt, upon Elizabeth's well-known proclamations issued years before, forbidding flesh in Lent. Lord Huntingdon in 1577, pressing those directions on the Corporation of York, said that "neither simple nor subtle shall have any cause to think or say that this which is done only for good policy should tend to the maintaining or reviving of any Popish superstition," but "the true cause thereof hath in it no smack at all of Popery: it is grounded only upon policy to procure a plenty where a dearth is grown, without any cause apparent, as should seem, but only the want of obedience to these laws" (n. 27, fol. 81).

In consequence of these proclamations which were communicated to the city year by year by the Council of the North, we find entries in these books like the following: "17th April, 19^o Eliz. [1577]. And whereas Edith Haymore, wife of Thomas Haymore, upholsterer, is lately presented for eating of flesh, viz., a chicken, in Lent last; and also Thomas Dawson, butcher, is lately presented for killing a calf for Mr. Thomas Boynton, Esquire, now Sheriff of Yorkshire, in Lent last, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's proclamation; it is therefore agreed that the said Edith and Thomas Dawson shall be commanded to appear before my Lord Mayor and his brethren at the next assembly of this house, to the intent that order may be taken for their said several offences" (n. 27, fol. 24 b).

On the subject of drinking or gaming in alehouses proclamations of the Queen and decrees of the Corporation were not less frequent or stringent. "Also it is agreed," July 18, 1593, "that if any labourer be taken playing at cards or at any other unlawful games, or drinking, or sitting, or idly loitering in any alehouse upon any week day when any work is at the staith [the quay] to be done: that the searchers shall make presentment to my Lord Mayor, and thereupon the offender shall be punished for the same at my Lord Mayor's discretion; provided that every labourer for his necessary relief may go drink at the alehouse so that he spend not above a penny at a time, nor sit, nor remain there playing or idly loitering longer than shall be necessarily convenient in that behalf" (n. 31, fol. 18).

Of like tenor were "certain articles and orders set down by judges of assize and delivered by them unto my Lord Mayor at the last assizes here," which were read April 3, 1598. "That no tipplers be permitted but in the heart and body of the town, and not in the out ends thereof." Be it here noted that in Elizabethan language the Justices called the publican a tippler, while we should style him rather the cause of tippling in others. "That amongst other necessary articles these are fit to be comprised" in tipplers' licences—

"1. That they suffer no manner of play in their houses or precincts thereof.

"2. That they suffer none dwelling within one mile of the tippling-house to tippie within the house, but to send for such drink as they will have out of their houses, except they be such as be ordinarily harboured or dieted within the said house, or upon such assembly for her Majesty's service, or for the service of the lord of the manor or town whereof that is parcel, or upon some commission or such like.

"3. That they suffer no quaffing or carousing by any in their houses, and that in time of dearth, when barley and malt is above 20s. the quarter, they yet sell no drink above 1*d.* the ale quart, and when it is 20s. or under, not above one half-penny the ale quart."

From which last provision it follows that the labourer who might take but one pennyworth of ale standing, would get one or two quarts for his penny. The brewers were strictly prohibited to sell ale retail, and are often punished for doing so. So Anthony Tessymond, Robert Wiseman and others were called into court April 15, 1597, "for that they being brewers have sold ale by less measure than the half gallon, viz., by the quart, and Francis Adams, an innholder, for selling beer at 6*d.* the gallon, which they have confessed, and are committed to ward, there to remain till night."

It is to be feared that the law was occasionally a respecter of persons, at least so we may judge from the following terms. 30th August, 21^o Eliz., 1579: "It was agreed that no artizan within this city and liberties of the same shall from henceforth play at any unlawful games, nor bet, or lay any money at any unlawful games, as bowling or such like, but [such] as shall be assessed in the subsidy books at 10*l.* or above, except such as have borne office of worship within this city upon pain of penalty contained in the statutes of this realm" (n. 27, fol. 183). Thi

can hardly mean that the ex-aldermen might play at bowls and other games that were unlawful to artizans ; but it sounds like it certainly.

To pass from the alehouse and bowling-green to the theatre. A regular theatre, it is needless to say, did not then exist. At one time the authorities at York seem not to have encouraged players ; but it was from no dislike to plays. They thus detail their reasons, July 24, 1592 : "Whereas the doors, locks, keys, windows, boards, benches, and other buildings of the common hall are greatly impaired and hurt, and divers of the same broken, shaken, loose, and riven up by people repairing thither to see and hear plays, it is therefore now agreed by these presents that no players shall be permitted to play any manner of plays, either in the Common Hall or in St. Anthony's Hall, at any time or times hereafter" (n. 30, fol. 340).

July 11, 1595, it was "agreed that the Earl of Worcester's players which are late comed to this city and desirous to play shall [have] 20s. given them forth of the common chamber and so depart from this city and not play" (n. 31, fol. 127). On the 8th of August, the Queen's players were better treated. "It is agreed that 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. given to the Queen's players for a reward shall be paid by the Chamberlains forth of the common chamber" (n. 31, fol. 130 b). In November "it was agreed that my Lord Willoughby's players shall play at their host-house or such other house or place within this city as they can get for three or four days, so it be not in the night time, nor on the Sabbath day, but not in the Common Hall, neither to have any reward of this city" (n. 31, fol. 141 b). So also March 28, 1599, it was "agreed that the Earl of Worcester's players shall have 30*s*. given them and depart and not play" (n. 32, fol. 106). But on the other hand (January 18, 1599—1600) "it is agreed that my Lord Pembroke's men shall play before my Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the Common Hall, on Monday next in the afternoon, and have 40*s*. for reward forth of the Common Chamber" (n. 32, fol. 63).

There was a bull-ring in the Pavement ; but it was not there that the bears were baited when a happy chance brought her Majesty's bear-keeper to York. 22nd May, 19^o Eliz, 1577. "Also it is agreed by these presents that the Queen Majesty's bearward servant, being now in this city, shall this day in the afternoon bait his bear at Peseholme Green ; and he to have for his pains by discretion of my Lord Mayor" (n. 27, fol. 30).

The bearwards, sometimes the Queen's, sometimes some nobleman's, went round from town to town, as the players did. January 10th, 31^o Eliz., 158⁸, "It is agreed that my Lord Strange his bearwards shall have 3s. 4d. of the Common Chamber" (n. 30, fol. 72 b). By way of securing bulls to bait, the butchers had the following amongst their rules: 5th September, 31^o Eliz., "It is ordained that no butcher whatsoever within this city or suburbs of the same, shall kill or cause to be killed within this city or suburbs any bull, before the same bull be first baited with dogs according as hath been customed, upon pain upon every one herein offending to forfeit and pay for every offence 6s. 8d., the one half to the Common Chamber, and the other half to the presenter or presenters" (n. 30, fol. 132).

Not bulls only were baited, but cocks also. The cockpit was established as late as the year 1568.

5th April, 10^o Eliz., "And also my Lord Mayor did report to these presents that divers worshipful gentlemen were much desirous to have a cockpit made in this city, that they might resort unto for their pastime, and to spend their money here that they were wont to spend in other places. And these presents considering that the same would be a commodity to the city and occasion to cause much money to be spent both among victuallers and other craftsmen, doth condescend, order, and agree that there shall be taken a piece of ground in the late freregarth,² nigh to the Common Hall of the farmers, thereof which we thought most meet for that purpose. And the said pit to be made as shortly as can be either of the Chamber cost or of some other honest men as will take the same" (n. 24 fol. 108).

We pass to another ancient festive custom, that of Yule, for the sake of the information respecting its cessation given by the York House Books. Drake³ gives the following incredible proclamation as that annually made by the sheriffs of York on the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, to usher in Christmas misrule with all solemnity.

"The sheriffs of the city of York have anciently used, on St. Thomas' day the Apostle before Yoole, at toll of the bell, to come to All Hallows Kirk in the Pavement and there to hear a Mass of St. Thomas at the high quire and to offer at the

² "The late freregarth," that is, the yard or enclosed field of the late friars.

³ *City of York*. Abridged Edition, vol. ii. p. 57.

Mass; and when Mass was done to make proclamation of the Yoole Girthol in the form that follows by their serjeant.

"We command that the peace of our Lord the King be well kept and maintained by night and by day, &c. Also that all manner of thieves, diceplayers and all other unthrifty folk be welcome to the town, whether they come late or early, at the reverence of the high feast of Yoole till the twelve days be passed."

"The proclamation made in form aforesaid, the four serjeants shall go and ride whither they will, and one of them shall have a horn of brass of the Tolbooth, and the other three serjeants shall have each a horn, and so go forth to the four bars of the city and blow the Yoole Girthe; and the sheriffs for that day use to go together, they and their wives and their officers, at the reverence of the high feast of Yoole, at their proper costs," &c.

But the sheriffs, their wives, and their serjeants were not the chief show in the streets of York on St. Thomas' day. "Yule and his wife" amused the good citizens, and no doubt drew a larger crowd after them than all the officials of their city, though apparelled in their bravest.

Drake⁴ quotes from a manuscript "of no very old date, the traditional story, which has such a mixture of truth and fiction that it may seem ridiculous to do it." After saying that William the Conqueror, in the third year of his reign, having been obliged to raise the siege of York, obtained admission into the city on St. Thomas' day by bribing two poor friars of St. Peter's in York, by a promise to rebuild and endow their priory, and that after having taken possession of the city, he made Sir Robert Clifford, its governor, Lord Clifford, and knighted its four magistrates, in honour of whom he charged the cross gules in the city arms with four lions, the manuscript adds, "And to show the confidence and trust that he put in these old, but new-made, officers by him, he offered them freely to ask whatsoever they would of him before he went, and he would grant their request; wherefore they (abominating the treachery of the two friars, to their eternal infamy) desired that on St. Thomas' day, for ever, they might have a friar of the Priory of St. Peter's to ride through the city on horseback, with his face to the horse's tail, and that in his hand, instead of a bridle, he should have a rope, and in the other a shoulder of mutton, in his hand, with two great cakes hanging about his neck; the other having

⁴ *City of York*, p. 102.

bottles of ale, with provisions likewise of beef and mutton in his wallet.'"

Drake could not well help calling the story "ridiculous," and if it was "traditional," it only shows how quickly a tradition can spring up. It is plain that the beef and mutton, cakes and ale, referred only to good Christmas cheer, and it was not till the friary was suppressed and it was wished to deride the memory of the friars, that this "traditional story" can have been invented. It is singular that the writer of this manuscript, though "of no very old date," should not have known when "Yule and his wife" were put an end to. We can supply the information by extracting from the House Books the letter that suppressed this "very rude and barbarous custom."

"21st day of November, 15^o Eliz., [1572]: A letter from my Lord Archbishop of York, and certain others the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners, directed to my Lord Mayor and aldermen, was now openly read to these presents, the sense whereof hereafter followeth word by word.

"To our loving friends the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of York,—

"After our hearty commendations, whereas there hath been heretofore a very rude and barbarous custom maintained in this city and in no other city or town of this realm to our knowledge; that yearly, upon St. Thomas' day before Christmas, two disguised persons, called Yule and Yule's wife, should ride through the city very undecently and uncomely, drawing great concourses of people after them to gaze, oftentimes committing other enormities. Forasmuch as the said disguised riding and concourse aforesaid, beside other inconveniences, tendeth also to the profaning of that day appointed to holy uses, and also withdrawing great multitudes of people from Divine service and sermons, we have thought good by these presents to will and require you, and nevertheless in the Queen's Majesty's name, by virtue of her Highness' commission for causes ecclesiastical within the province of York to us and others directed, to charge and command you, that ye take order that no such riding of Yule and Yule's wife be from henceforth attempted or used. And that ye cause this our precept and order to be registered of record and to be duly observed not only for this year, but also for all other years ensuing. Requiring you hereof not to fail us, and [our] trust is you will not, and as you

will answer to the contrary. Fare you heartily well. At York this 13th of November, 1572" (n. 25, fol. 27).

A less farcical riding of the sheriffs than the Yule proclamation on St. Thomas' day, was that at Martinmas,⁵ which is described by Drake in the following passage.⁶

"The ceremony of riding, one of the greatest shows the city of York does exhibit, is performed in this manner. The riding day of the sheriffs is usually on Wednesday, eight days after Martinmas, but they are not strictly tied to that day; any day betwixt Martinmas and Yoole, that is Christmas, may serve for the ceremony. It is then they appear on horseback, apparelled in their black gowns and velvet tippets, their horses in suitable furniture, each sheriff having a white wand in his hand, a band of his office, and a servant to lead his horse, who also carries a gilded truncheon. Their serjeants-at-mace, attorneys, and other officers of their courts on horseback, in their gowns, riding before them, preceded by the city waits, or musicians, in their scarlet liveries and silver badges, playing all the way through the streets; one of these waits wearing on his head a red pinked or tattered ragged cap, a badge of so great antiquity, the rise or origin of it cannot be found out. Then follows a great concourse of citizens on horseback.

"In this equipage and manner, with the sheriff's waiters, distinguished by cockades in their hats, who are usually their friends now, but formerly were their servants, in livery cloaks, they first ride up Micklegate into the yard of the Priory of the Trinity,⁷ where one of the serjeants-at-mace makes a proclamation as has been given. Then they ride through the principal streets of the city, making the same proclamation at the corners of the streets on the west end of Ousebridge; after that at the corner of Cattlegate and Ousegate; then at the corner of Coney Street and Stonegate over against the Common Hall; then again at the south gate of the Minster; after that they ride unto St. Marygate Tower without Bootham Bar, making the same proclamation there; then returning, they ride through the streets of Petergate, Colliergate, Fossgate, over Fossbridge into

⁵ St. Martin's Day is November 11.

⁶ Drake's *City of York*. Abridged Edition, vol. ii. p. 55.

⁷ The riding of the sheriffs into this Priory, and into Bootham, formerly the jurisdiction of the Abbot of St. Mary's, must have commenced as a custom since the Reformation; and seems to be a taking possession of those two before privileged places.—Drake's note.

Walmgate, where the proclamation is again made; and lastly they return into the market-place in the Pavement, where the same ceremony being repeated, the sheriffs depart to their own houses, and after to their house of entertainment, which is usually at one of the public halls in the city."

Of the midsummer riding we have had previous mention, as well as of the "show of armour" at that time of year. There was in fact an annual review on Knavesmire, where the well known racecourse now is, or on the neighbouring Heworth Moor; but the troops reviewed were the citizens themselves, who were bound to appear there in person, with their bows and arrows, or their calivers and other "pieces," and with "such of their furniture upon their bodies as was convenient." The show cost the sheriffs some money, as the subjoined orders prove.

"19th June, 1590. Thomas Mosley, mayor.

"And now it is agreed that the sheriff shall on Midsummer day next make a show of armour thereon in the streets of this city, and that the inhabitants shall have warning as hath been accustomed. And it is further agreed that the citizens that have not been sheriffs shall attend in their own persons, with their best armour and furniture, in the said show, with their servants also furnished, upon pain of 6s. 8d. to be forfeited by every one offending herein, to be paid without mitigation, and warning to be given accordingly.

"And now it is agreed that warning shall be given to the constables of every parish that they do forthwith give commandment to all inhabitants within the said city that they and all their servants and children between the age of seven and sixty years, shall appear on Heworth Moor on Monday the 6th of July, 1590, at seven of the clock in the forenoon of the same day, bringing with them bows and arrows of their own according to the statute, viz., every one between the age of seven and seventeen years, one bow and two arrows, and every one between the age of seventeen and sixty, one bow and four arrows, according to the statute, upon pain of every one offending upon any point of the premisses to forfeit 6s. 8d. for every offence" (n. 30, fol. 184).

"12th June, 1591. Robert Watter, mayor.

"And now it is agreed that precepts shall be forthwith awarded to the officers to give commandment to the constables of every parish to warn their parishioners to attend upon

Mr. Sheriff on Midsummer even at seven of the clock in the morning, with their armour, as well private as common, and to make show thereof according to the ancient order. And that all such as have not been nor are of the degree of alderman or sheriff, shall go in the said show in their own persons, upon pain of every one making default to forfeit 6s. 8d. And that the said sheriffs shall be there and ride in the same show accordingly. And that 30lbs. of powther [powder] shall be divided forthwith out of the Common Chamber, to be bestowed at their discretion, and they to bestow as much now of their own charge as other sheriffs have done. And that the said constables shall therein attend in their own parishes as hath been accustomed upon the like pain" (n. 30, fol. 241).

"13th June, 1592. Thomas Harrison, the second time mayor.

"Also it is agreed that the constables of every parish shall be commanded to warn their parishioners, and also to go themselves, to attend upon Mr. Sheriff at and from Knavesmire, on St. Peter's even next at seven of the clock in the forenoon, with their armour and furniture, as well private as common, to make show thereof as hath been accustomed. And that all such householders as be under the degree of the twenty-four shall attend upon the said sheriff in the same show in decent apparel and with such of their furniture upon their bodies as shall be convenient, and every other to [send their furniture with their servants in that behalf, and the said constables in their best apparel, in their own persons, upon pain of every one making default to forfeit 6s. 8d. And that the sheriffs shall ride in the same show in their said gowns, and that 30lbs. of powther shall be delivered forth of the Chamber storehouse unto the said sheriffs to bestow at their discretion, and that they shall also bestow other 30lbs. of powther of their own charge to such servants or poor men as shall have and use pieces in the same show."

J. M.

Adeste Fideles.

COME, O faithful, with sweet voices
Lift the song that heaven rejoices,
Song to Bethlehem glory bringing :
Where the swaddling clothes enfold Him,
King of Angels, there, behold Him,
Come, with thoughts to heaven upsoaring,
Come, with lowly knees adoring,
Come, angelic anthems singing.

God of God in him there finding,
Light of Light with glory blinding,
There to Virgin sweetly clinging,
Come, in tender Babe beholding
Unbegotten Might enfolding ;
Come, with thoughts to heaven upsoaring,
Come, with lowly knees adoring,
Come, angelic anthems singing.

Hark ! angelic pæans sounding
Fill heaven's vault with song astounding,
Song sweet peace to earth now bringing :
Chaunt thou Glory in the Highest
To the God for whom thou sighest ;
Come, with thoughts to heaven upsoaring,
Come, with lowly knees adoring,
Come, angelic anthems singing.

Therefore, on this feast of glory,
When on earth began His story,
Round our Jesus praises ringing,
Sing to God in heaven paternal,
Sing the Word made Flesh supernal,
Come, with thoughts to heaven upsoaring,
Come, with lowly knees adoring,
Come, angelic anthems singing.

CHARLES KENT.

At Home and Abroad.

II.—ON THE ROAD.

FROM North Wales we have to make a rapid run to Geneva. We have not much time—which of course in these pages means not much space—and so we must hasten through London and Paris. Not that it is to be concluded from this that we did the work in the fewest possible hours, starving our minds and wearying our bodies as such speed implies. We did our travelling pleasantly and easily enough. All we mean is, that we must not devote much space to what we saw on the way, but must hasten to our chief point, which indeed is our excuse for writing at all, without lingering too long on the road.

And yet we cannot bring our minds to that heroic pitch of self-denial which would enable us to pass through London and Paris without saying something. Familiar as the two great cities are, there seems always to be something new to attract attention, some passing phase of the public mind, some lion of the day, political, musical, or dramatic; some event in history which has its transitory aspect as well as its more permanent one, and which must be noted in its passage if it is to be noted at all; some fleeting shadow which is perhaps as curious as, and sometimes more significant than, the solid, substantial fact which causes it; taking, as it so often does, its form as much from what it falls on as from what casts it. In time that shadow passes away, the gaunt fact stands alone, the underlying roughnesses no longer do their work nor reveal their history, and so we but half read the lesson it should convey. Now this we may see holds good of small matters as well as of great ones, and affects alike the comprehending both; and if they are to have their history at all, these passing shades and colours have to be noted, that such records may be accurate. Not that we intend to be very profound in our remarks, nor to look too curiously into political matters. Enough for such birds of passage to skim over the surface of the bright earth, to take in as much as

a rapid glance can embrace, and to be content with seeing even what we manage thus to catch, with that incompleteness which a birds'-eye distant view necessarily implies. Politics are too vast in their extent and too complicated in their structure for observers of our class, so we leave that field, or rather that maze, for those who have time to find its clue and patience to follow it.

The lions of the day naturally attract the visitor in London: perhaps because their roaring is alone able to make itself heard above the ordinary din; or if not this, the efforts of their friends and foes combine to enforce attention which is only too glad to rest on one or a few matters, and so escape from the distraction which is still more painful. Not but that higher and better motives, as we have already hinted, may incline the passing visitor to lend a willing ear to those who cry out so lustily either for or against a particular lion. He may fairly look to see in the novelty of the day a token of what music, or the drama, or some sister art is doing, to find therein a gauge by which to test its present quality, as well as a sign to show in what direction it is moving. And not this only, but by its reception he may form a fair estimate of what the popular taste loves, and how that itself is rising or falling; rising in its aspirations to higher things, or falling to that low level which tells of corruption. So we hasten to the dens—in this case the theatres—and bid the lions roar; and some of these indeed roared so successfully that they seemed to be moved by the spirit of Bottom in the comedy, and resolved with him: "I will roar, that it will do any man's heart good to hear me; I will roar that I will make the Duke say, 'Let him roar again, let him roar again!'"

We arrived too late in London to see Mr. Irving, who had just given his two hundredth performance of *Hamlet*; but we found Salvini at Drury Lane, playing the same part. His performance naturally suggested to our minds a comparison with his great fellow-countryman, Ernesto Rossi, who has not yet played in London, but whom we well remember some years since at Turin. Neither of them, of course, have the traditions of the English stage to guide them, nor have they, like later English actors, the difficult task of throwing aside those trammels while thinking for themselves. Perhaps this is one reason why both Rossi and Salvini have a freshness and originality in their impersonations which others, with all their efforts, lack, and

which in truth they lack because of their very obvious efforts to appear original. Men like Kemble, Young, and Kean (of course we mean the elder) have left the impress of their minds upon the English stage, and seem to have taken the only three views of Hamlet which commended themselves to the national taste. But the Italian mind has its own conception of Hamlet, and naturally colours it with its native warmth and tenderness. This is especially observable in Ernesto Rossi. With him Hamlet is not the sneering infidel of Kean, the dignified declaimer of Young, nor the Roman stoic of John Kemble. He is the young, impassioned, and yet irresolute noble; well educated, and therefore thoughtful, but no bookworm. With refined taste he naturally shrinks from deeds of violence, and finds himself as little at home with the fierce promptings of his father's Ghost, as with the coarse revelries of the usurping King. His love for Ophelia is a beautiful flower which he treasures in his inmost heart. If he must tear it thence it is with his own heartstrings. His violence to Ophelia is not assumed: it is his love gone mad. He is no schemer: he has no plans worthy the name. He sinks and dies under a load of trouble which he has not energy enough to throw off, nor mental strength to bear. Somewhat of this is Rossi's conception of the part; and this it is which gives such unexpected and exquisite beauty to his scenes with Ophelia, and this, too, it is which makes his Hamlet so natural and so loveable. Perhaps this is what especially distinguishes his Hamlet from that of all others with which we are familiar. With Rossi he is no cold abstraction, no speculative dreamer, no utterer of set speeches, but a man whom we can understand: weak in purpose but true in heart; ruined by the unusual circumstances which hedge in his young life, until they close upon and crush it. Something of this we remarked in Salvini, but with a difference. Much of the Italian warmth is there, but not as with Rossi, showing itself frequently. Salvini gives one at first an erroneous impression of his powers. After a while we observe there is much passion suppressed, but this is only to be found out by a close and careful study of his features and tones of voice. In due time the burst comes, and then, indeed, the power is overwhelming. The scene between Hamlet and his mother is the great one with Salvini, and is not easily forgotten. Few actors can carry you away with them as Salvini does here. You are no longer a spectator criticizing the acting and elocution of a great master: you are immersed, as

it were, in the torrent of his passion ; you feel with him the bitter scorn, the fierce anger, and the broken-heartedness of a noble mind ; you see, not in portraits, or miniatures, but with him "in the mind's eye," "the counterfeit presentment of two brothers," which grows up with his passion and which glows in the warmth of that honest love and scorn, until your heart is stirred to its very depths with his feelings. Few actors can do this, yet Salvini does it completely.

When we say that Salvini's acting requires very close attention ; that every tone of his voice and every expression of his noble face calls for and thoroughly repays our watchful care, it may be thought that such a performance is scarcely a relaxation, and hardly accords with what we have said of the charm of its naturalness. Yet so it is with all Italian actors worthy of the name. With them action and tone of voice are more important than the words they utter. As is commonly remarked, they do every thing before saying it, and when they speak we consider rather how they say it than what they say. Hence on the stage they are actors in the strictest sense of the word, and in this acting of course the face is the chief instrument. We must bear this in mind, or we shall very likely be put out and annoyed by the efforts they make to show us their faces in scenes of importance. As for instance, when in the interview with the Ghost, the full force of the electric light is thrown upon Hamlet's face, while the shadowy Father is scarcely discernible. And again, who does not remember how Ristori comes down to the foot-lights and kneels full face to the audience when, as Mary Stuart, she is passing in her last moments from the woman into the martyr ; and who would willingly lose one of those transient expressions for all the groupings which could give another charm to the scene ? So is it with Rossi and Salvini ; their acting is a study, and not a mere recreation. Actors like these raise the theatre into what Shakespeare intended it to be, and make it worthy of the writings of such a man. No small satisfaction is it to look around and see so large a theatre as Drury Lane filled with an enthusiastic because appreciative audience. It speaks well for the refined taste of so many and such different classes to find them here where, in these performances, art owes next to nothing to scenic display, and where the difficulties of a foreign tongue stand so much in the way of the complete enjoyment of so high and intellectual a performance.

And now for another, and perhaps a still more severe test of public taste in London. The Italian Opera, all know, is still regarded as a fashionable amusement. Time was, and that within our own memory, when it was exclusively so; when few ventured within the one Opera House except the votaries of fashion; when it did not condescend to invite public attention to itself beyond the barest announcement of the name of the opera to be played and of those of the principal singers. In those days the pit was a favourite lounge for the men of fashion—stalls were then unknown—who passed into it with the bone tickets of the possessors of the boxes. It made no appeal to public taste, of which indeed it was altogether independent, being supported by subscription. The consequence naturally was, that it exercised little or no influence upon the world outside, and did next to nothing in forming a musical taste in the public. Now, it is true, very much of this is changed, and fashion no longer reigns supreme within either of the Opera Houses. The people, represented by the middle classes, have made an inroad into these once exclusive spots; the public taste is considered and public support sought after for the two houses, as the style of advertisements in the daily papers show unmistakably. And thus what was once but an index of fashionable taste may now be fairly taken as an illustration of a more popular feeling, and the operas of the day become tests of the musical taste not only of the higher and richer, but of the better educated classes.

Now this judgment, such as it is, was appealed to and tried by a very severe test in the production at both houses of Wagner's *Lohengrin*. What was the result? A most complete success. Here, then, appears to be a hopeful sign of the growth of a very high and refined taste, which is able to appreciate music of no ordinary character, that appeals to none of the lower passions, and disdains the ordinary allurements which preceding composers have considered to be not only lawful, but absolutely indispensable.

Let us consider this more in detail, that we may see not only what Wagner has achieved, but how high public taste is rising. We are constantly told, and with truth, that the most popular operas owe their success to the simplicity of their plots and the abundance of melodies in their music. A plain, everyday domestic incident comes home to every heart, and if it is melodiously told, so that we can hum its airs and work them

into dance music, its success is certain. *Lohengrin* has none of these attractions. A legend which is at once obscure and generally unknown, lying back in far distant times which seem to have little in common with our daily life, is worked out in a long opera which has no one melody in it, at least in the popular meaning of the word. Two of the chief characters that occupy the scene are more like those impersonations of abstract virtues and vices that one meets with in Calderon's *Autos Sacramentales*, than the beings of flesh and blood with whom we are wont to sympathize. The principles which actuate them are so out of our usual sphere of thought, the means by which they carry them into action are so unearthly, that a mysterious cloud seems to environ the whole scene, and we find ourselves in a new world. Here, one would imagine, are difficulties enough in the way of popular success; but when to this we add the peculiar character of the music, the utter absence of every element upon which popularity is usually built, we can at first with difficulty understand how it has achieved, as we have said, so complete a triumph. There is no need to enter here into the principles which Wagner has laid down in his essays and explanatory pamphlets, and which have been so often discussed. Enough if we understand his method of treatment of *Lohengrin*. The dialogue is very full, and, as we have said, is not interspersed with the usual solos, and duets, and concerted pieces. From beginning to end each act is complete in itself, and has none of the usual breaks, none indeed of those pauses which seem to invite applause. The effect of this is curious, in that the act passes in marked silence, any attempt to break it by applause being at once checked by the audience; and all the accumulated approbation is poured out fully and freely at the end.¹

Again, with the ordinary melodies the usual form of recitative is banished. Indeed, the whole work, with the exception of the choruses, being in recitative, the customary occasional chords of music to a well-nigh spoken dialogue would be simply intolerable. Thus it is that Wagner throws himself into this part of the subject with a force of harmony which is little short of marvellous. And then the frequent and varied choruses—

¹ It is worthy of note that on the single occasion when *Lohengrin* was recently played in Dublin, the "gods," who are there remarkable for their singing and shouting, were silent listeners during the whole of the evening. A circumstance this unparalleled in our experience, and which testifies to Wagner's influence over a wild but educated class which, during the opera season, thinks fit to play Comus' "rabble rout," by like them "making a riotous and unruly noise."

what pen can do justice to them? So fresh and vigorous, so rich in harmony, and to the ear seemingly so simple in their very complication! It has been matter of complaint that nothing seems to stand out with especial prominence; but surely this is a beauty rather than a blemish, and realizes that musical unity to which no ordinary work can attain.

In its whole, then, must such a work be contemplated. It must not be pulled to pieces. As well might we break up and carry off in fragments a beautiful statue, as thus deal with an opera by Wagner. In both cases the result would be destruction, and the fragments well-nigh meaningless. But this completeness is in itself an obstacle to the popularity of the work. The intellectual effort required to grasp so large a whole is beyond the will, if not beyond the power, of a general audience, unless indeed that audience is a highly educated one, or at any rate one which has learned to estimate aright the value of good music and its claim to our highest efforts to appreciate it. It shows no little courage in Wagner to make such a demand upon his audience, while the success with which it has been crowned testifies to his great genius. The bold claim has been nobly responded to: at which surely both parties have reason to rejoice, in that it is alike honourable to both. It is difficult to describe the effect of *Lohengrin* upon the attentive listener. We must honestly confess that we did not expect to be pleased. We went as to some difficult experiment, and were prepared to come away unsatisfied. Need we say how agreeably we were disappointed, and how delighted we were to find what we expected would be a hard task, an unmixed enjoyment? We were not long in finding this out.

The beautiful overture, mystic in its soft opening, then swelling up into a martial strain, and anon dying out rather than ending as it began, gave us at once, as it were, the key-note to what was to follow; and how fully its promises were fulfilled we cannot find words to express. One more characteristic we must notice which is no small part of the charm; and that is its religious character. Religious, we mean, in the loftiness and the simplicity of its tone. There is a dignity about the whole work which raises it high above ordinary operas, and seems to us to place Wagner among musicians on some such lofty eminence as Tennyson occupies among his contemporary poets. Indeed, these two great men have in their works much in common. *Lohengrin* takes place with us by the side of Arthur

—as indeed the son of Percival and guardian of the Holy Grail should do. With both we seem to breathe a purer atmosphere, and from their companionship return to earth strengthened for daily toil by higher principles and nobler examples. And surely men who work with such results are both poets in the highest sense and worthy of all honour.

We fear that these remarks will do but little to assist the reader in forming any idea of the pleasure—not to say delight—which the performance of *Lohengrin* at Covent Garden gave us. There is no doubt that it makes far higher and greater claims upon the audience than ordinary operas, in that a close and unflagging attention is needed to understand and appreciate the work: but so does every intellectual work which is worthy of the name. But it fully repays this attention; and what is more, its strange beauty makes the mental effort comparatively easy. Somehow or other it fixes the attention at once; and satisfying every requirement of the mind, it wins its way through that well guarded portal to the warm heart within. At first we see it is something altogether new, but soon we find that that newness is all beautiful; it has a strange character about it, but that strangeness is something higher and holier than we are wont to find in such places. We are reminded that the solos and duets are gone; and so indeed it is, yet we did not feel their absence. We are asked for a single melody which has struck us, and we can scarcely recall a phrase; yet is there a rich “concord of sweet sounds” running through our minds which fills our hearts with a pleasure we cannot describe. And so we go away, full of feelings we cannot put into words; but conscious at least of this, that Wagner has dared to put into shape his own brave thoughts of the high mission of opera, and that he has succeeded in the attempt.

How this has been done we leave to musicians to explain,—enough for us to chronicle thankfully the result.

One more lion of the season did we come across, though indeed it was not in London that we saw him. The Sultan of Zanzibar passed us at Crewe Station when he was making his tour of the manufacturing districts. It was but a momentary glimpse of a state carriage and sundry red turbans surmounting countenances of various shades from brown to negro black; and then again we meet the same dusky group, but now it is at Calais, and we have the honour of travelling to Paris in the royal train; and when we find ourselves comfortably quartered

at the Hotel du Louvre, almost immediately we meet some member of the royal suite parading with true Oriental dignity the spacious corridors of the hotel. And thus the Sultan, or as he preferred to be called, the Seyyed of Zanzibar unconsciously became to us the connecting link between London and Paris. This Oriental Potentate seems a cheerful personage, with a merry twinkle in his pleasant eyes. That he has a fine sense of the ludicrous, and no lack of quiet humour, his very remarkable speeches amply testify. He doubtless somewhat scared those makers of ordinary addresses, who seem born to be the pest of Potentates in motion, by the unusual nature of his replies, which certainly were very different from the dry forms which are commonly used on such occasions.

Many a fine net did he contrive to get out of, and many a trap did he glide over unhurt; and on all occasions had he a quiet joke at his would-be captors, seasoned with a piece of advice which it is to be hoped they laid to heart. In some respects he had a difficult part to play, but he showed that he not only thoroughly understood it, but was quite equal to the occasion and more than a match for those whom he encountered.¹

It was with mixed feelings of pain and curiosity that we found ourselves in Paris for the first time after the terrible war. How vividly came back upon our mind the circumstances attending our last visit! We were at Baden-Baden when the interview between the King of Prussia and the French Minister Benedetti took place. At Chamounix we read the vainglorious proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon of "the baptism of fire" through which the Imperial Prince had passed; and we arrived at Paris on that famous Sunday when the truth first broke upon

¹ As an instance, we may quote a passage out of his reply when his health was proposed in the City of London at the Mansion House. Of course, as usual, the emancipation of the slaves had been pressed upon him, in answer to which his interpreter, Dr. Badger, said—"He trusts that herein your philanthropy will be shown in action, and that you will give not only moral sympathy, but, if need be, that you will give material help to carry out the great undertaking in which you are so much interested; but in which, on the spot, in carrying it out, he has met with so much opposition. His Highness reminds me of a picture he saw in the Town Hall of Manchester. He asked me what it was. I said it was the picture of the Good Samaritan, and then I explained to him the parable as related in the New Testament. It represented the man, who had fallen among thieves, in the arms of the Good Samaritan, and in the corner there was a head and part of the back of an ass, ready to carry away the burden. 'The man who had fallen among thieves,' he said, 'in all probability you will liken to the slave in East Africa. You English people—the whole nation—are like the Good Samaritan; but what am I like? Perhaps what I resemble most of all is the ass in the corner, upon whom all the burden falls.'"

the minds of the Parisians that the war was turning against them, that the flood was toward Paris and not to Berlin. At every theatre patriotic songs were sung, recruits were pouring into the city, and after being paraded, a miserable spectacle, through the streets, were hurried like sheep to the railway stations to be slaughtered or taken prisoners on the frontier. Ah! that frontier was now the care and the cry. No longer was it *à Berlin*, but *à la frontière*. One day we found the household troops, as we should call them, drawn up on the Bridge to keep back the furious people, who were crying out against the Prime Minister Ollivier, and they too were jeered and yelled at with the new cry, *à la frontière*. And then came the quick turn of the troops and the rapid flight in confusion of the mob. Already the railway bridges at the barriers were undermined, for Paris now saw it must put itself on the defensive. And as the train bore us away to Boulogne, we looked out upon those fair plains and rich harvests which were so soon to garner another crop, and to be watered with a people's blood.

And when the terrible judgments came, one after another, upon the ill-fated city, and its own children destroyed what a fierce enemy had spared, in truth we had not heart to look upon the ruin of what we had seen so fair, and so we delayed our next visit until the present year, when, with an energy and self-sacrifice which is almost marvellous, the people have blotted out nearly every vestige of what war and the Commune had done. We cared not to scrutinize very closely the wounds and scars of the proud metropolis; but there are tokens which cannot soon pass away, wounds which, in the present temper of the public mind, refuse to be healed. The Hotel de Ville is still a heap of ruins, and seems to wait for another Haussman with courage and energy enough to raise it once more. But the Tuileries, what is to become of that? What President can rebuild it? Who but a King or Emperor can restore it? So there it stands a gaunt spectre, with all the hideousness of recent havoc upon it, awaiting, like a maimed prisoner, the judgment of the State. And now, while we write, its doom has been pronounced: it is not to be restored, nor to be pulled down, nor even to be left a kind of miserable trophy of what civil discord and Communism can do; but worse than this, it is to be degraded into a mere portico or vestibule to a gigantic Crystal Palace: a worse fate than that which befell our glorious old Westminster Hall when it was converted from the royal

banqueting-room of England into a lobby of Barry's Houses of Parliament.

Well, if the people of Paris can do without their royal and civic palaces, they must have at any rate their grand Opera House. When this is the question, all parties unite, and so we go to see the only thing which amid all this war and desolation has been completed. Very large and imposing is this once imperial and now republican palace of music, for which a whole district has been pulled down and laid out afresh. The entrance is exceedingly grand. Indeed, it is by far the grandest and most striking, because most beautiful, part of the whole vast edifice. Its materials are in keeping with the nobleness of the design, for they are almost entirely choice marble. There is a royal dignity, and in a measure a chaste simplicity, about the staircase, which contrasts however almost ludicrously, and certainly painfully, with the over-decorated tawdry interior of the house itself. Here, as one enters, the eye wanders with pleasure and rests with gratification upon the simple harmonies of beautiful proportion and the undazzling colours of rich marbles; but there, within the house itself, the mind is distracted and the eye dazed by the glare of gilding and the confusion of overmuch decoration. Surely this is a mistake, this forcing of the house upon the attention of the spectator and withdrawing his mind and eyes from the scene on the stage. Indeed, as if to carry out to its extreme this artistic blunder, the very stage itself is crowded up on both sides with rows of boxes, which encroach so far that they are cut off from the rest of the house when the curtain falls and disappear from view with the scenes behind.

The house is indeed very large, but much of the grandeur of the effect is destroyed by the crowding into it of too many tiers of boxes, and so, though most probably much larger than Covent Garden, it falls short of it in real dignity.

There is a fine crush-room; but here again over-gilding and over-decoration have spoiled what in size and proportion is really noble.

It is an abrupt transition to pass from the Opera House to the Cathedral, from these showy saloons to the bloodstained relics of which we wish to say a word; but travellers have to hurry from point to point, and to master incongruities as great as these. And perhaps if we were to look deeper below the surface than suits our present purpose, we might find some dark

connecting link which ties together these bloody vestiges of the work of the Commune and the lavish expenditure of which this Opera House is a significant symbol. Nor will it surprize the student of history to see that the innocent have paid the penalty of the guilty.

In the sacristy of the Cathedral are many rich reliquaries, upon which, as works of art, the guardian does not fail to discourse learnedly; there are also saintly treasures, of which less is said, as doubtless the official has learned prudence and does not care to "cast pearls before swine." But throughout are the memorials of recent times which tell their own tale and speak plainly to all men alike. How nobly and with what simple charity have these Archbishops of Paris fallen one after the other, a chain of martyrs, in their Master's cause! and how carefully, we might almost say morbidly, have the tokens been treasured up! Here amid chalices, crucifixes, and vestments—each one with its interesting history—lies the bullet which pierced Mgr. Affre when he fell at the barricade, and died with that noble prayer upon his lips—"May my blood be the last shed." And here beside it, pierced by an arrow to which the fatal bullet is fixed, are the two adjacent portions of the spine through which it carried its message of death. It was a holy thought which brought hither the crucifix he carried in his hands to that his last mission of charity.

In another room is preserved and shown the soutane stained with blood in which this Archbishop fell, and beside it hang the two dresses in which his successors perished. One is the vestment through which the assassin's dagger passed into the heart of Mgr. Sibour at St. Etienne du Mont, guided by the hand which he, in the discharge of his high duty, suspended from touching sacred things. The other and last in this strange collection is the soutane of Mgr. Dubois, pierced, not with a dagger stroke or a single shot, but torn and mangled by seven bullets and stained with his own blood and the dirt of the foul wall against which the Communists placed him as their target, and with the earth on which he breathed out his righteous soul. If "Cæsar's vestment wounded" stirred up the hearts of Romans against his butchers, surely this bloodstained, muddy soutane will be at once a warning and an ægis for the people of Paris against the designs of those who wrought so foul a deed.

We were indebted to our illustrious fellow-traveller, the Seyyed of Zanzibar, for a display of the great waters at

Versailles. At least he went shares in the motive with the sufferers from the recent floods in France. For it seems that under the Republic a wise economy is the order of the day, and so a compliment to the distinguished visitor is worked out of a benefit performance for "the inundated." He must be indeed hard to please who is not content with the gardens of Versailles for a theatre, its noble fountains for a performance, and the music of the finest military band in Europe—the Guides, once Imperial, now National—for an accompaniment. For ourselves, we must confess that we know no out-door performance which can successfully compete with this, when a bright sun, tempered by a pleasant breeze, colours and enlivens the scene as it did on the occasion of which we speak.

Of course the combination naturally suggests comparison with our own Crystal Palace at Sydenham and its great fountains. Well, these are beautiful in their way. The glass house is sometimes a glittering gem, and the waters are greater in volume and rise to greater height than the old fountains of Versailles can do. The gardens too at Sydenham have a beauty of their own which merits praise. Yet somehow one cannot but feel a charm about this historic palace and its old-fashioned gardens which the new palace cannot exercise. There is a quiet grandeur about the whole place and its surroundings which lays hold of the imagination and enthrals it. The fountains, varied and beautiful as they are, seem but a part of one grand design. These noble and yet quaint avenues require the living waters upon which they open; these grand parterres would be imperfect without the central groups of fountains. And then, again, both walks and waters combine in harmony with the grand palace, and grow as it were out of the same idea. So then, perhaps, the secret of its great success is to be found in this, that all is in keeping, part with part; that nothing incongruous mars the effect, and that no effort shows itself in producing that effect. The royal will which first called Versailles into existence, seems still to suffice to maintain all we see around: in short, one feels somehow that here at least the old kingship lives, and that all is explained by those words of power—*le Roi le veut*. But now indeed we must hasten on, or when shall we reach the especial object of our present wanderings, and find ourselves in Switzerland?

H. B.

*The Catholic Working Men's Union in France.**

I.

THE great question which, under many forms, is everywhere being asked with daily increasing emphasis is—Shall society be Christian? The question, indeed, is not a new one: it was asked in the first centuries of our era, of "the old, decayed, and moribund world into which Christianity had been cast," and received an affirmative answer. Thenceforth, for some thousand years, the religion of Jesus Christ supplied the standard by which men reckoned, the principles by which human life was regulated, in all its relations, and "Christendom" was the true description of the new civilization. Four hundred years ago, the ages of faith drew to their close, and since then, Protestantism, obeying the necessary laws which regulate the growth and explication of ideas, has put forth its developments. The principle of scepticism is as fruitful in negations, as the principle of faith is, in dogmas and pious beliefs. The arguments which were employed in the sixteenth century against a few Catholic doctrines, are as applicable against every point of Christian teaching. And they have been unsparingly applied. The age of what may be termed "orthodox" Protestantism, was succeeded by an age of quiet doubt, which, in its turn, has given way to an age of bitter, aggressive unbelief. And now the Protestant populations are brought face to face with the inquiry, "Are we Christians?" They who sit in the seats of Luther and Calvin have logically carried out the work of the "Reformers."

Who shall dare

"I believe in God" to say?

Faust asks in Göethe's great drama: and the answer he would receive at Geneva or Bonn would assuredly be, at best,

A mocking play

A sarcasm on the asker.

* The notes from which this paper has been written, served as the materials for a speech, delivered before the General Committee of the Catholic Union of Great Britain at Willis' Rooms, on the 16th of November, 1875.

But the effects of the principles of "free thought" are not confined to the regions of theology, nor to the geographical limits of Protestantism: they extend throughout the world, and everywhere not only close the heavens to men, but darken earth. The political, social, and moral revolt, which is called Revolution, is but the natural sequence of the religious revolt which is called the Reformation—the second act in the same great drama: the negation of authority is of the essence of both movements. The rejection of the divine claims of the Catholic Church is surely, if slowly, followed by the effacement of the idea of God, and then, the sanctity of marriage, with all that it involves, and the stability of governments, are doomed. "Atheism," it has been well remarked, "is near akin to democracy."¹ Modern society rests upon the foundation of Christianity, and the overthrow of the edifice is the inevitable consequence of the destruction of the foundation. It is by no accident that priests and kings are equally under the ban of the Revolutionists of '91, and of the Garibaldians of to-day. "The state of society in which we live," wrote Shelley, "is a mixture of feudal savageness and imperfect civilization. The narrow and imperfect morality of the Christian religion is an aggravation of these evils. . . . Chastity is a monkish and evangelical superstition. . . . A system could not have been devised more studiously hostile to human happiness than marriage. . . . In fact, religion and morality, as they now stand, compose a practical code of misery and servitude."² The true spirit of the Liberal movement³—or, as the phrase is on the Continent, the Revolution—with which he so strongly sympathized, was never more fully caught than by this highly gifted and most unhappy person: its utter impatience of restraint, whether of religion, morality, or law, has never been more clearly expressed.

¹ Carlyle, *Past and Present*, p. 238. So Montesquieu: "De l'idée que Dieu n'est pas, suit l'idée de notre indépendance, et de l'idée de notre indépendance suit celle de notre révolte." See Nicolas' *La Revolution et l'Ordre Chrétien*, p. 33, where this thought is well worked out. I understand Mr. Carlyle to use the word "Democracy" to denote the unchecked domination of the numerical majority—the unqualified and absolute sovereignty of the masses—a doctrine equally un-Catholic and un-Christian with that of "The right divine of kings to govern wrong."

² Notes to *Queen Mab*.

³ It will, of course, be understood that in this paper the terms "Liberal" and "Liberalism" are used in their Continental sense, and without the slightest reference to the party politics of this country.

In proportion as this spirit has prevailed, the work of Christianity has been undone, and a return has been made to the state of things, which the religion of Jesus Christ found in the world and overthrew.

Les jours sont revenus de Claude et de Tibère,

wrote one of the sweetest and saddest of French poets forty years ago. The retrogression of human society has increased steadily since then. The frightful and most significant fact, in these days, is, that the anti-Christian movement receives the sympathy and support of many, who, in other times, would almost certainly have been counted among "men of good will." Principles are now carried to their legitimate conclusions with uncompromising thoroughness, and earnest men, who will not submit to the divine authority of the Church, find themselves forced into active hostility to her. Hence it is, that persons, not only of the loftiest position, the highest culture, but also of stainless life, and of undoubted personal piety, do not shrink from the contamination of an alliance with unscrupulous doctrinaires whose "liberty is not liberal," whose "science is presumptuous ignorance," whose "humanity is savage and brutal,"⁴ with whom their sole bond of union is the spirit of rebellion. Among ourselves, the most prominent and most violent champion of the anti-Christian movement, is a statesman of unblemished reputation, for years honourably known in the world of British politics for his high principle and religiousmindedness, who, apparently, believes, that in assuming the rôle of the "heated pamphleteer," to uphold the hands of the party of revolution, he is "doing God service." What wonder if with such auxiliaries, blind, it may be charitably hoped, to the real character of the part they are playing, the Liberal movement imposes on the unwary, and gathers strength in every European country? Everywhere, on various pretexts and in different disguises—no pretext is too frivolous, no disguise too flimsy—war is waged against the altar, the family, the throne. In Germany a thin crust of Nationalism veils the revolutionary fires which are smouldering beneath the surface,

Ignes

Suppositos cineri doloso.

In Italy, the newly-created kingdom—the result of the grossest fraud and most unscrupulous violence—is, avowedly, only

⁴ Burke, *Reflections on French Revolution*.

tolerated by Garibaldians and Mazzinists, as a stop-gap, until the time arrives for the proclamation of the era of Socialism. In France, the Commune has given us a foretaste of the Red Republican Millennium. Even among ourselves—wrapt, as we are, in our insular optimism—the same spirit is undoubtedly working. "Democracy," writes Mr. Carlyle, "everywhere, the product of our Europe in these days, sure enough is here in England: the tramp of its million feet is in all streets and thoroughfares: the sound of its bewildered thousandfold voice is in all writings and speakings, in all thinkings and modes and activities of men."⁵ The compulsory irreligious education of the children of the people, the confiscation of religious endowments, freedom of divorce, the proscription of the religious orders, the curtailment of the essential liberties of the Church, the prostitution of the press, have already been achieved, to a great extent, by the "party of progress" throughout Europe. Such are the first fruits of its labours, and they are exultantly pointed out as pledges of the approaching unchristianizing of society, and the eventual triumph of "free thought."

II.

The stronghold of the Revolution, is in the working classes. The temptation which was found so potent at the beginning has not lost its power. "You shall be as Gods,"⁶ is the assurance with which the masses are addressed by the apostles of Liberalism: their complete emancipation from superstition and tyranny—by which are meant the restraints of religion and law—is the prize for which they are invited to enlist under the anti-Christian banner. It is now close upon a hundred years, that the bait was first offered them by the Revolution, and we know how greedily it was then swallowed. It has been said, that history is philosophy, teaching by experience, but the lessons so taught are precisely those which are learnt with the greatest difficulty. The vast majority of men, necessarily take these opinions ready-made, and such as are most

⁵ *Latter Day Pamphlets*, p. 35.

⁶ "J'ai pensé aujourd'hui, en moi-même," wrote Maine de Biran in 1817, "à tous les maux qui résultent du défaut d'autorité en France, depuis la famille jusqu'au trône. *L'égalité est la folie du siècle*, et cette folie va jusqu'à menacer la société de sa destruction. Chaque homme veut juger, tout ranger à sa mesure. Rien n'est respecté et n'impose, ni le rang, ni la science, ni la vertu. . . . Quel peut-être le résultat de cet esprit d'indépendance, de fierté ou d'orgueil? Là où personne n'obéit, ne reconnaît de supérieur, c'est l'anarchie ou l'empire exclusif de la force" (Maine de Biran : *Sa vie et ses Pensées*, p. 215).

"fair to the eye and delightful to behold," naturally find the greatest favour, and the widest acceptance. To learn what their practical fruit has been, would necessitate inquiry, and inquiry demands leisure, habits of reflection, power of generalization, and a degree of intellectual culture which few men possess. Then, again, in how many ways is history written! "Never trust history," said Sir Robert Walpole, "that must lie," and doubtless, he had excellent grounds for his opinion. It would seem tolerably clear, indeed, that the general result of the principles of '89, as they are erroneously called—they should be rather termed the principles of '91—has not been to increase the sum of human happiness, or, in particular, to benefit the working classes. But, undoubtedly, a contrary view is often expressed by writers, whose views are entitled to respectful consideration. The first step towards even an intelligible discussion of the question, would, probably be, a definition of "human happiness," and the "good of the working classes." And if, as appears to be most likely, no definition which would content both sides could be agreed upon, the conclusion might not unjustly be drawn, that the disputants were hopelessly at variance upon first principles, and that all further discussion would be infructuous. However that may be, one thing is clear, and that will be admitted on all hands, viz.: that in all countries into which the Revolution has entered, one of its effects has been to alienate the working classes from the Catholic Church. It has been forcibly remarked by M. Rémont⁷—

From the seventeenth century the doctrinaires have worked with furious energy (*avec acharnement*), for the destruction of religious ideas and sentiments. They have banished God from the laws and machinery of government; they have banished Him from the conscience of the people, who, as is their wont, have adhered to the tradition thus established. For forty years, the aim of official persons has been to withdraw the people from the influence of religion: it was a consequence of the revolutionary principle—nay, almost a necessity of its system of government.

The result is that the French artisan is, as a rule, an infidel. The Revolution has not taken from him the necessity for daily labour, but it has taken from him the day of rest, "care's balm

⁷ In his able paper, "De l'organisation Chrétienne du travail," read before the Congrès des Associations Ouvrières Catholiques held at Nantes, in 1873, and printed at p. 337 of the *Compte-Rendu* of the Congress.

and bay," and added Sunday to his week of toil: it has not relieved him of his poverty and misery: but it has taken from him the Gospel, with its blessings on those who mourn, who are poor in spirit, who are reviled, who are persecuted, who are peaceable: it has taken from him his belief in the Man of Sorrows and in the Mother of the Seven Dolours, in pitying saints, and in angels guardian; it tells him that there is no God to wipe away all tears from his eyes: no hereafter, where the rich and the poor shall meet together, and the inequalities of their lot shall be redressed: no heaven to win: no hell to shun. It has banished every argument for resignation, for contentment, for patient well-doing, from this world, and has set loose every motive for self-indulgence, cupidity, sullen mutinous revolt. Who can blame him, if with no faith, no hope, he turns in loathing from his dull life of incessant, monotonous toil, to seek oblivion in the poor base pleasures within his reach, and envies those who have more abundant means of ministering to sensuality? If to-morrow he dies, and all is over, as he has been taught to believe, why should he work his heart and life away here in producing wealth which he may not enjoy, in ministering to luxury which he may not share? Ignorant, weak, wretched, he curses society: jealousy, rage and hate take possession of him, and he lends an eager ear to demagogues who dazzle him with visions of socialistic utopias, and trade upon his passions, for the advancement of their political views, and their own aggrandizement. If liberty of association is given him (and under the Empire, in 1862, and again in 1867, some measure of such liberty was granted), he uses it to found the "International." In war against the established order of things he discerns, as he fancies, some chance of ameliorating his condition: it is a conflict in which, he thinks, he has everything to gain, and very little to lose: and he hastens everywhere to enrol himself in secret societies,⁸ whose impious tyranny is satisfied with nothing short of a distinct engagement to renounce the profession of Christianity. "At the present moment," says M. Rémont, "the working class

⁸ See an instructive paper by M. Maignen, printed at p. 199 of the *Compte-Rendu* of the Congress of Nantes. He tells us "ce n'est pas seulement de l'école que la Révolution travaille à chasser le Dieu de l'ouvrier: l'est de l'atelier, c'est de l'usine. L'apprenti et l'ouvrier ne pourront plus y gagner leur pain qu'à la condition de l'apostasie; nul, bientôt, ne travaillera dans une fabrique que s'il signe, comme solidaire, l'engagement d'éloigner le prêtre de son lit de mort et de consentir à l'enterrement civil."

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in France is in the hands of a few fanatical leaders, who proclaim aloud their hatred of religion, and take no pains to conceal their hatred against society."

III.

Such is the condition of the working classes in France, according to the testimony of those who know them best: and the description is applicable, more or less, to every country of Europe. Is there no remedy for such a state of things? One remedy, a great deal vaunted still in certain quarters, is "popular education." Vice, irreligion, and political discontent are confidently pronounced to arise from ignorance; and a certain modicum of secular knowledge is prescribed as a specific for the cure of moral evil. It is not so many years ago that this nostrum was proposed in England, with much flourish of trumpets, by very eminent persons, who hoped by means of Mechanics' Institutes and similar establishments, to effect an indefinitely great improvement in the spiritual and social condition of the working classes. Thus, Sir Robert Peel announced his conviction—

That no mind can be so constituted, that after having been familiarized with the wonderful discoveries that have been made in every part of experimental science, it can retire from such contemplation, without more enlarged perceptions of God's providence, and a reverence for His name.

And Lord Brougham dogmatically pronounced that "the pleasures of science tend, not only to make our lives more agreeable, but better." These views were immediately met by Dr. Newman, then—it was in 1841—still an Anglican clergyman, and Fellow and Tutor of Oriel, in a series of letters to the *Times* newspaper,⁹ in which he demonstrates, with a logical force and completeness which leave nothing to be desired, that secular knowledge is not religion, nor the principle of moral improvement, nor a direct means of moral improvement, nor the antecedent of moral improvement, nor a principle of social unity, nor a principle of action, but, without personal religion, a temptation to unbelief. Subsequent experience has ratified the correctness of these positions. The movement for popular instruction then set on foot, has had

⁹ Reprinted in *Discussions and Arguments* (p. 254), under the title of "The Tamworth Reading Room."

free course. The schoolmaster has been abroad : and he has not proved to be the social regenerator he was supposed to be. There is no sort of reason for believing that the diffusion of secular knowledge has, in the least, raised the moral standard. If I may quote words of my own, written some years ago in one of the journals of the day—

It may have turned crime into different channels, and rendered it less easy to detect : it may have rendered men more decent : but it has not changed their natural propensities, nor their proneness to gratify them at the expense of others. Science and literature and art may refine the judgment, and elevate the taste, but here their power ends. The utmost they can do is, to minister to an enlightened selfishness. Knowledge is, in fact, power, and nothing else : it leaves its possessor, morally, where it found him. Its practical effect is to make the bad man worse, because more potent for evil, just as it makes the good man better, because more powerful for good. And that is all knowledge does, or can do.

IV.

I ought, perhaps, to apologize for offering to Catholic readers, even these few observations upon the powerlessness of secular education as a remedy for the evils which desolate the working classes. My excuse is, that in the current literature of the day, which is read by Catholics as well as Protestants, such views as those put forward, now more than thirty years ago, by Sir R. Peel and Lord Brougham are still reproduced, as if they were fundamental and eternal truths, instead of hollow and exploded delusions.¹⁰ But of course Catholics know—it is part of their faith—that there is only one way in which men, whether rich or poor, whether individually or in the mass, can find deliverance from moral or spiritual evil : only one Name, in which the demons of discontent, envy, and hatred, of lawless and inordinate desire, of criminal and degrading self-indulgence, which have entered into the working classes, can be cast out. As Lacordaire has told us in burning words, “Rendez Jésus-Christ au pauvre, si vous voulez lui rendre son vrai patri-moine : tout ce que vous ferez pour le pauvre sans Jésus-Christ ne fera qu’élargir ses convoitises, son orgueil et son malheur.”¹¹

¹⁰ Le liberalism moderne veut sauver la société sans le secours de Dieu, et beaucoup de . . . très-bons Chrétiens sont imbus, à leur insu certainement, de ces faux principes. Il faut leur désillusionner” (*Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Lyon, 1874*, p. 430).

¹¹ Conférences de Notre-Dame, XXXIII^e Conférence, Année 1845.

The only hope of humanity is in the restoration of the idea of God whence it has been banished, in the reparation of the Christian character of society. And it was their deep apprehension of this truth which prompted the leading Catholics of France to set on foot, a few years ago, a great organization for winning the working men of their country back to the faith. The "Union des Associations Catholiques Ouvrières" was founded in 1871,¹² "in order to collect and store the experience and efforts, the prayers and merits, of all the faithful who, in various ways, devote themselves to the salvation of the people; to supply a common centre for the various good works in existence throughout France for the Catholicizing of the working classes, and, by means of the strength which union gives, to develop and uphold all the Catholic associations which are raising up for France a generation of Christian artisans."¹³ It was a grand thought which moved the eminent and devoted men to whom the "Union" owes its existence, to found such an alliance at such a time. For, it should not be forgotten, that the France of 1871 was a very different France from the France of to-day. The most humiliating war in which she had ever been engaged had ceased, only to be succeeded by an outbreak of socialism which threatened her very existence, and she lay, crushed by the weight of accumulated disasters, unparalleled in her annals. It was then that these true patriots devised and set on foot the movement for Christianizing the artisans of their country, in which, as they clearly discerned, lay the only means of national regeneration. They saw, as one of their number has told us—

Que les ruines s'étaient accumulées, que le flot montant de l'athéisme et de l'immoralité menaçait de tout engloutir, si les Catholiques ne

¹² At the Congress of Nevers. There had been three previous Congresses "des Directeurs d'Œuvres Catholiques Ouvrières de France." The first was held at Angers in 1858, and was attended by only twenty-five members: the second at Paris in 1859: it numbered forty members. Then came eleven years of silence and isolated efforts. In 1870 the third Congress assembled at Versailles, forty-five members assisting at it. In 1871 the sixty-five members present at the Congress of Nevers resolved to constitute the "Union" as a "grande ligue Chrétienne Ouvrière," and founded the Bureau Central—"centre vivant de l'Union"—thus raising the work from a mere annual gathering into a permanent institution.—See introduction to the *Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Poitiers*, par M. Henri Jouin. It will be seen hereafter what vast proportions the work has assumed since 1871. The Congress of Rheims, held in August of the present year, was attended by nearly two thousand members.

¹³ Documents pour la fondation et la direction des Œuvres, n. 21.

s'empresaient d'opposer une dique sérieuse, active et populaire à tous ces ravages exécutés par la main du peuple que l'on trompe en le séparant de ses vrais intérêts.¹⁴

To this work, then, they addressed themselves, fortified by the blessing of the Sovereign Pontiff, and with the sanction and encouragement of the Hierarchy of their country. The Catholics of France have rallied round them. The "Union," established in such evil days, has increased and flourished, beyond the most sanguine anticipations of its founders. In one diocese after another, committees have been established in connection with it. Throughout the length and breadth of France, circle after circle, association after association has been founded, until at the present time over a thousand societies have been aggregated to it. Other societies exist, not as yet formally in connection with it, but soon, it is thought, to enrol themselves on its list, and the total number of members of the various Associations Ouvrières of France is estimated at nearly two hundred thousand. This, of course, is but the beginning of the work, but it is a very considerable beginning. As the Central Committee observe in their *Annuaire*¹⁵ for 1873-4, it is a proof that the Catholic artisan movement

Est aujourd'hui bien nettement accusé, et qu'il ne dépend que des gens de bien d'ajouter à l'impulsion donnée par leur propre initiative.

The various Associations Ouvrières which enter the "Union" "make a declaration that they are, before and beyond all things, Catholic, governed by a spirit of profound respect for the Sovereign Pontiff, and of filial reverence of the Bishops."¹⁶ Each aggregated society is left entirely free to regulate its internal organization: the "Union" merely serves as a common centre, guiding, aiding, encouraging, by means, not of formal legislation, but of suggestion and advice. Its ruling principles are thus summed up:

Love of the Holy See and the Church; love of souls, and devotion to the spiritual interests of the working classes; liberty in the means and unity in the end; a spirit of zeal and of enterprise.¹⁷

The means it adopts are classified in its authoritative documents under six heads. (1) Certain common devotions

¹⁴ M. Henri Jouin, *Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Poitiers, 1872*, p. 15.

¹⁵ *Annuaire des Associations Ouvrières Catholiques de France, 1873-4*, p. 2.

¹⁶ Documents pour la fondation et la direction des Œuvres, no. 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

indulged by the Holy Father. (2) The Central Committee. (3) Diocesan committees and Local Correspondents. (4) The *Bulletin de l'Union*, its official weekly organ. (5) *Le Caisse générale*, or "common chest,"¹⁸ the income of which is derived from the subscriptions of members and aggregate societies, and donations. (6) The annual Congress. The organization of the "Union" is very simple. Its Central Committee is composed of thirty-nine of the most distinguished French Catholics, priests and laymen indifferently. By a resolution of the Congress of Poitiers¹⁹ they hold office for life, and are empowered to fill up vacancies in, or add to, their number. The president of the committee is Mgr. de Ségur, and among the members are le Père Bailly, the distinguished Superior of the Augustinians of the Assumption at Paris, the Duc de Chaulnes, the Comte de Chateau-Thieny, the Abbé Millaut, the Baron de l'Espée, the Duc de Doudeauville, M. Rémont, M. Jules Morin, and the Comte Yvert.²⁰ The Central Committee is described as being a *centre of help* to assist in the formation, sustentation, and development of Catholic associations of various kinds, for the benefit of the working classes: a *centre of information*, whence advice may be obtained for the foundation, direction, and improvement of every kind of Catholic work, and, lastly, a *centre of zeal and propagandism*, for these good works. It should be observed that the Central Committee does not itself undertake the foundation of societies. It merely aids, propagates, and groups them, applies itself to the solution of difficulties encountered by them, supplies them, on application, with drafts of rules and constitutions, and enables them to profit by the experience of others engaged in similar works. It is careful to disavow anything like the control of its aggregated

¹⁸ "*Le Caisse générale*.—Pour faire face aux charges multipliées qui incombent au Bureau Central, et pour lui permettre, au besoin, d'encourager efficacement les Œuvres associées, tant anciennes que nouvelles, les Congrès de Nevers, de Poitiers et de Nantes, ont constitué une Caisse générale, et à cet effet ils ont indiqué trois sources d'alimentation: (1) les dons volontaires et les souscriptions que pourront provoquer les membres de l'*Union*, ses Correspondants diocésains et ses protecteurs; (2) les cotisations annuelles des Œuvres agrégées, cotisations dont le chiffre est fixé à un minimum de cinq francs; (3) les cotisations des Membres des Œuvres agrégées, lorsque les Directeurs le jugeront opportun (30 centimes par an); (4) les cotisations des Bienfaiteurs agrégés personnellement à l'*Union* 5 fr. par an; (5) les dons obtenus directement par le Bureau Central.

"Un compte des recettes et des dépenses est soumis chaque année au Congrès" (Documents pour la fondation, &c. no. 21).

¹⁹ *Compte Rendu du Congrès de Poitiers*, p. 20.

²⁰ Documents pour la fondation, &c. no. 28.

societies. It is, as one of its members described it, only a centre of trouble and work—*il ne centralise que la peine et le travail*. On the other hand, as will be readily believed, the associated societies are only too glad to avail themselves of its counsels in questions of common interest, or unusual importance.

The Central Committee acts through (1) its weekly organ, *Le Bulletin de l'Union*, which contains a chronicle of the societies aggregated to the "Union," papers on various matters connected with it, letters from correspondents, and the Committee's official announcements; (2) the secretariat, which is the centre of correspondence and the depository of the documents and publications of the "Union;" and (3) the annual Congress of the directors and delegates of the aggregated societies and others interested in the work. The Congress is held, usually in some episcopal town and under the patronage of the Diocesan, in the month of August. The last—at which I had the happiness of assisting, as a deputation from the Catholic Union of Great Britain—took place at Rheims, under the presidency of the Archbishop, and was attended by close upon two thousand persons. The annual Congress is regarded as "the manifestation of the life of the 'Union', and its great means of action." Its primary object is—"To study the working men's questions, which from time to time press for notice, and by means of the light afforded by discussion, and by the experience of the members, to come to practical conclusions about them."²¹ "Ces reunions [remarks a recent writer in the *Bulletin de l'Union*] composées d'hommes donnés à quelque spécialité, produisent toujours de féconds résultats. Il est bon de se voir, de s'entendre, de se communiquer les efforts déjà réalisés, de parler de ses projets et ses espérances. Maintenant que la direction des associations est devenue une véritable science, il est impossible que les hommes qui unissent ainsi leur piété et leur espérances, ne reçoivent pas une augmentation de lumière et de courage."

Of course, the work to be got through at each Congress is carefully arranged beforehand by the Central Committee. On its assembling, various commissions or sections are organized: in these, from day to day, the questions to be considered are discussed: at the general meeting in the evening the conclusions arrived at are announced and resolutions embodying them are proposed, explanatory papers being read,

²¹ Documents pour la fondation, &c. no. 21.

if necessary. At the Congress of Rheims I was particularly struck by the practical character of the proceedings; there seemed to be no talking for the sake of talking: no *speechmaking*. And, although some of the papers read were of remarkable ability, their authors appeared most carefully to eschew anything like literary display. The Congress lasted from Monday afternoon to Friday afternoon, and was brought to a close by solemn Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the Cathedral, after which the Papal Blessing was bestowed by the Archbishop. It was a most impressive moment when, at the close of the grand function, the hymn *Te Deum* burst from the kneeling worshippers—many of them moved to tears—and thousands of voices joined in the notes of the Church's ancient chant: while the setting sun, streaming through the glorious rose window upon the vast congregation, filled the magnificent basilica with many coloured light of a more than earthly beauty. It was a fitting termination of the labours of the week.

Besides the Central Committee, there are Diocesan Committees,²² which are intended to be to each diocese that which the Central Committee is to the whole of France. The Bishop or his delegate—his Vicar-General if possible—presides over the Diocesan Committee, and its members are nominated by him. They are generally the principal priests of the cathedral city and its neighbourhood, the superiors of the religious orders—those in particular whose mission it is to sow the word of God—the heads of existing Catholic associations of a pious or charitable kind, and eminent Catholic laymen. Thus, some twenty or five and twenty zealous and devoted men are brought together, and their work is the creation and development, throughout the diocese, of Catholic associations of all kinds: "Societies of St. Joseph," and "of St. Francis Xavier," "*Cercles Catholiques*" for artisans, "Societies of Christian Masters," "Missions for Working Men," "Holy Families," and the like. It is not, of course, to be supposed that in every neighbourhood the Diocesan Committee plunges into all the works just enumerated. Its business is, as M. Vagnes has well expressed it—

To consider the nature of the soil, before it commences its operations, like the husbandman, who does not scatter his seed at random, and the gardener, who, before planting, investigates the qualities of the land.

²² Documents pour la fondation, &c., no. 1. See also interesting and suggestive papers, by M. le Abbé Tournamille and M. Vagnes at pp. 134 and 142 of the *Compte-Rendu* of the Congress of Lyons (1874).

Its first step is to ascertain what Catholic societies are already in existence, and to bring them into union with itself. In places where there are no existing Catholic societies, it appoints correspondents. In this way it gradually spreads its influence throughout the diocese, fostering existing associations and aiding in the formation of new ones; in all cases, of course, acting in accord with the parochial clergy. In fact—

La mission de ces Bureaux est la même que celle du Bureau Central, mais dans un rayon territorial moins étendu, c'est-à-dire de propager les Œuvres ouvrières et de les faire entrer dans l'*Union*, de concentrer tous les renseignements utiles et de les communiquer au Bureau Central; en un mot, d'activer la fondation et le fonctionnement des Œuvres dans un Diocèse, et de les relier dans un faisceau commun.²³

When exceptional circumstances prevent, for the present, the formation of a Diocesan Committee, as in the case in a few dioceses of France, its place is supplied by a Diocesan Correspondent.

v.

To give anything like a complete account of the manner in which the "Union" has carried out its work during the four years which have elapsed since its foundation, would be impossible within the limits of such a paper as this. Nor, indeed, would the task be a very easy one, even if the space at my command were much greater. In the first place the sphere of the "Union" is so wide, its agencies are so multiform, that a succinct view of its operations is hardly possible. Then, again, much of the work of such an organization is done in secret, and its results are not immediately discernible. "*Alius est qui seminat, alius qui metit.*" The "Union" is sowing the good seed: it may, perhaps, be reserved for another generation to witness the harvest, of which, indeed, we have already abundant first fruits as the earnest and the pledge. There is, however, one work to which it has given an impulse, a work so singularly attractive, and so eminently practical, that I cannot altogether pass it over in silence. I mean, the Christian organization of the manufactory.²⁴

²³ Documents pour la fondation, &c., no. 21.

²⁴ See M. Léon Harmel's admirable and exhaustive papers (to which, in what follows, I am largely indebted) printed at p. 279 of the *Compte-Rendu* of the Congress of Nantes and at p. 395 of the *Compte-Rendu* of the Congress of Lyons.

Our great manufactories, which have sprung up almost entirely within the present century, have changed the face of the industrial world by destroying the artisan's family, and entirely altering the relations between him and his employer. They have served to widen the distance between capital and labour, and although they have undoubtedly resulted in a vast increase of wealth, they have, as undoubtedly, generated material misery unknown to former ages, and moral evils still more deplorable. In most of the manufactories of the present day,²⁵ we are told, by an authority of whom I shall have more to say presently, we find that utter corruption of morals, which is regarded as the mark of nations drawing to their end. Vice is loudly encouraged, and those who have not, in fact, been able to commit crimes great enough to excite admiration, invent crimes which they have never committed: the most obscene language prevails, in utter disregard of age and sex: social ties and duties are trodden under foot: the ministers and observances of religion are the objects of furious hatred: the most naked materialism is preached—"Death is an end of all," being a favourite and unfounded axiom. War against society is openly proclaimed, and the richer classes are regarded as enemies whom to injure is to benefit the people.²⁶

Such is the description given by a large employer of labour in the east of France, of the condition of the artisans. It is a description which, as I have remarked in a former portion of this paper, is only too generally applicable. The "Union" holds that there is one, and only one cause of this state of things—the absence of God from the manufactory; that there is one, and only one true remedy—to organize the manufactory on Christian principles, and so to transform it from a seminary of vice and impiety into a school of religion and morality. Such an undertaking might, indeed, seem utterly hopeless. It certainly is hopeless—humanly speaking—so long as the proprietor remains what proprietors too often are, wholly given up to the greed of gain: his sole interest in his work-people confined to the exaction of the stipulated amount of toil from them. There

²⁵ *Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Lyon*, p. 397. I summarize, rather than translate.

²⁶ "Il y avait un jour une réunion électorale dans un atelier: un ouvrier se lève et propose un candidat. Quels sont ses titres? demande-t-on de toutes parts." "Il a volé 200 francs à son patron, et il a été assez habile pour échapper à la prison! Voilà un homme comme il le faut pour défendre les intérêts de l'ouvrier!" "Et le nom fut inscrit sur la liste" (*Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Lyon*, p. 398).

is a passage in a work of Mr. Carlyle, from which I have already quoted, so forcibly expressive of the normal attitude, in these days, of the employer of labour towards his employés, that I must venture to reproduce it :

It must be owned [he observes] we, with our mammon gospel, have come to strange conclusions. We call it a society, and go about professing openly the totallest separation, isolation. Our life is not a mutual helpfulness ; but rather, cloaked under due laws-of-war, named fair competition, and so forth, it is a mutual hostility. We have profoundly forgotten everywhere, that *cash-payment* is not the sole relation of human beings : we think, nothing doubting, that *it* absolves and liquidates all engagements of man. "My starving workers?" answers the rich Mill-owner, "did I not hire them fairly in the market? Did I not pay them, to the last sixpence, the sum covenanted for? What have I to do with them?" Verily, mammon-worship is a melancholy creed.²⁷

And as he elsewhere remarks :

At no time, since the beginnings of society, was the lot of the . . . dumb millions of toilers so utterly unbearable as it is, even in the days now passing over us. It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched. But it is to live miserable, we know not why : to work sore, and yet gain nothing ; to be . . . isolated, unrelated, girt in with a cold, universal, *laissez-faire*.²⁸

I do not think he overstates the case. The marvel is, that men who would be offended if their Christianity were called in question, should rest content, as they not unfrequently do, with such relations between themselves and their work-people. Surely, if any one truth is clear, beyond all power of cavil, it is that the Christian is bound to interest himself actively in the spiritual welfare of his brethren and society ; that indifference in this respect is absolutely incompatible with Christianity. But, as M. Harmel asks :

If this duty lies on all those who have any influence, at all, over others, how can it but be more rigidly binding upon the manufacturer placed by God over numerous artisans, with whom his influence is, of necessity, great. It is a duty of strict justice for the employer to give his work-people fair wages : and the violation of this duty constitutes a crime numbered by the Church among the sins which cry to heaven. And is there any one who would venture to maintain that the obligations of the employer towards the souls of his work-people, are less imperative

²⁷ *Past and Present*, p. 185.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 234.

than those which concern their bodies? Is he not absolutely bound to take care that their souls do not perish through their work in the manufactory—to take care that their souls do not lack “daily bread?” Will any one venture to deny that this is a part of the “fair wages” strictly due from the employer to his work people?²⁹

Let this truth be once grasped by the employer, and there is no limit to the influence he may exercise for good. A signal example of the vast work which it is within his power to achieve, is supplied by an account which M. Harmel gave to the Congress of Nantes, of what had been done in his own manufactory. The condition of his workmen, he states, was such as he has described in the language I have quoted. But the Church, he says, in his modest way, has come to his aid, and has transformed them into a family of Christians. Undoubtedly, M. Harmel could have done nothing without the Church. It is equally clear that in the ordinary course of human affairs, the Church could have done nothing in his manufactory without him. The means by which this vast change has been effected is, the right application, the religious use, of the principle of association. The great strength of evil in the manufactory lies in human respect—

not to be corrupted is the shame.

It is practically almost impossible for an individual artisan, however well disposed, to struggle against the tide of evil custom which flows so strongly, to stand up alone against the monstrous ideas on religion, the family, and morality, which are accepted by his fellows. The only help, M. Harmel tells us, so far as his experience goes, is in the formation of Catholic associations, confraternities, &c., among the working men. Such associations supply, he thinks, if not the only way, at all events the surest way, of Christianizing the manufactory. In his own manufactory,³⁰ they exist for every grade and age of his employés.

²⁹ *Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Nantes*, p. 281.

³⁰ They are as follows—I. For Women—(1) Association of St. Philomena, for young girls before their first communion; (2) Association of the Holy Angels: from first communion to fifteen years; (3) Association of the Children of Mary: above fifteen years; (4) Association of Christian Mothers: for married women. II. For Men—(1) Association of St. Louis of Gonzaga: from nine to twelve years; (2) The “Petit Cercle:” from twelve to sixteen or seventeen years; (3) The “Grand Cercle:” above sixteen or seventeen years. These Associations are not merely devotional, although they are based upon religion. They provide innocent recreation and material advantages; but so far as the work of the manufactory is concerned, no sort of privilege is given to their members.

Children of both sexes, young men and young women, fathers and mothers, have all their own appropriate confraternities or "cercles;" and the general effect of this Christian organization has been, in the words of M. Rémont, "to transform the nineteenth century manufactory into the likeness of the mediæval abbey, where prayer and work go on together."³¹ In the chapel of the manufactory, M. Harmel tells us, there are every year six thousand communions. Out of six hundred and ninety-four persons above the age of twelve years, four hundred and fifty-seven are members of the various associations and confraternities, and regularly frequent the Sacraments; and of the two hundred and seventy-five who do not belong to the confraternities, the greater number, thanks to the good example of the others, fulfil their religious duties in accordance with the precepts of the Church.

The manufactory in which this great work has been accomplished was founded in 1840 by an excellent Catholic, M. Harmel's father, who, himself an example of every Christian virtue, laboured as best he could, for twenty years, for the religious improvement of his work-people; but with very slight results. He gained, indeed, their esteem; nay, he even acquired a considerable influence over them; but his success was, after all, chiefly of a negative kind. To some extent he was able to prevent evil: a few of the better disposed went to Mass on Sunday, and throughout the neighbourhood the moral conduct of his people was recognized as being very far above the average. A few women and young girls went to communion once a year. Even a few men fulfilled their Easter duties, but were careful to go, for that purpose, to churches at a distance, where they were not known.³² In 1861 the proprietor determined to start associations,

³¹ *Compte-Rendu de Congrès de Lyon*, p. 66.

³² "Permettez-moi le récit d'un trait caractéristique. Quand le carême approchait de sa fin, l'excellent Patron ne manquait pas de solliciter ceux qu'il croyait pouvoir convaincre à se préparer à la communion pascale. Une semaine, il put obtenir de quatre hommes qu'ils iraient à la ville voisine se confesser à un prêtre ami de la famille, et communier de grand matin. Bien entendu, chacun des quatre, ignorait qu'il ne fût pas seul. Le Patron se réjouissait de son succès, et le lundi, tout impatient, de connaître le résultat de sa combinaison, il va voir un de ces hommes. Savez-vous ce qu'il entendit? Monsieur c'est la première, mais c'est la dernière fois."
"Pourquoi, mon ami?" "Vous m'avez fait croire que je serais seul." "Et après?"
"Quand nous avons été à confesse tout allait bien; nous ne nous étions pas vus mais à la communion, j'ai vu les trois autres, et eux aussi m'ont vu! Me voilà perdu dans l'atelier, on va nous ennuyer avec cela pendant six mois! Je n'y retournerai plus!"
"Et il tint parole" (*Compte-Rendu de Congrès de Nantes*, p. 298).

avowedly religious, for the benefit of his people, and sought the assistance of the religious of St. Vincent of Paul. Three Sisters at once came and commenced their work, in the most modest and humble surroundings. At the same time, two Jesuit Fathers came for a month, and preached a mission. A good start was made, and in little more than a year it was found necessary to open a small chapel. This was done at a cost of £80. The Sisters began their labours with the young girls of the manufactory. For two years they perseveringly pursued their quiet work, and then they found themselves in a condition to set on foot the Association of the Children of Mary. A fourth Sister was then wanted, and soon a fifth; and in 1864 an Orphanage was opened to receive eight poor children. In 1863 three Brothers "des Ecoles Chrétiennes" arrived, but it was not until 1867 that their labours had been sufficiently successful to warrant them in opening a "Cercle Catholique" of men. In 1864 a daily Mass was begun, in a new and larger chapel. In 1867, when the several associations had begun to develop, a regular service of missions was established with the assistance of the Lazarist Fathers, at first every three months, then every other month, and finally every month. At last a Lazarist Father was established in the manufactory as resident Chaplain, and his time, we are told, "is very fully occupied with his charge." These simple facts best tell the tale of the way in which obstacles, apparently insuperable at first, were overcome. The expenses, M. Harmel allows, have been considerable; but he most emphatically states that even from a pecuniary point of view he has not been a loser.

Les Œuvres Catholiques [he tells us] entreprises et conduites avec prudence et générosité, ne diminuent jamais les bénéfices d'une maison. Dieu se charge de les faire produire.³³

VI.

It would, perhaps, be difficult to select a more striking instance of the manner in which the Union des Associations Ouvrières Catholiques fulfils its functions, than that which I have just quoted from the records of its Congresses. M. Harmel is one of those "humble of heart" who

Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.

³³ Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Nantes, p. 302.

The "Union" has drawn him from the retirement which he loves, has given the whole of France the benefit of his experience and example, has published the secret of his success, has adopted, by solemn resolutions, his principles of action, and has pledged its members to do their best to spread the great work, of which he may be designated the apostle. And, I fear, this must be the only specimen I can here give of the works which the "Union" encourages and extends. There are many other matters of interest which I should like to dwell upon, such as the efforts which are being made for the revival of Christian Gilds for the various kinds of artisans; the operation of the Cercles and Associations, which I had the privilege of visiting, in Paris, last August; the work which is being actively pushed on for the popular diffusion of just ideas on religious and social questions, by conferences, by the creation of a cheap, wholesome literature, and by the dissemination of religious newspapers. But this paper has far exceeded the limits which I proposed to myself when I sat down to write it, and what I have said will, I think, be sufficient to indicate the way in which the Catholics of France have set themselves to the solution of the question: "Shall society be Christian?" There is, however, one point which I must briefly notice, viz., how far it is possible to introduce into England the work of the Union des Associations Ouvrières Catholiques.

Certainly, anything like an exact reproduction of it, among us, would seem to be impossible, because of the very different condition of the working classes in this country. In France, the choice of the artisan lies between Catholicism and Scepticism. Logically speaking, as a high authority has remarked,³⁴ there is no medium between the two: and the French mind is naturally logical. With us it is otherwise. The masses are, indeed, non-Catholic, but probably only a small proportion of them are deliberately anti-Christian in their sentiments. Although a not inconsiderable number of our artisans have imbibed the evil principles of Continental Radicalism, still the Revolution has never fully entered into England. As regards the greater number of them, heresy, not atheism, is for the present the foe which the Catholic Church has to combat, and that is work clearly outside the lines of any such association as that which we have been considering. I say "for the present," advisedly: for the progress of "free" or "advanced" thought

³⁴ Dr. Newman's *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 283.

has of late years been very rapid in England, and the popular mind, although slow to apprehend ideas, and loth to abandon traditional opinions, does undoubtedly move with the times. Nor is it possible that the popular faith—such as it is—resting, as it does, on no solid basis of living authority, can long withstand the forces which are being brought to bear upon it. But it is unnecessary to enlarge upon this matter. We are, concerned with the existing state of things, and as yet, I think, although the upper and upper-middle classes in Great Britain have to a large extent abandoned their faith in dogmatic religion, the prevailing scepticism has not very deeply infected the lower orders. They have not lost the notion of a Divine revelation; a certain amount of religious sentiment still prevails among them. A belief, ill-defined indeed, and clouded by Puritan superstitions, in those dogmas of Christianity which the Reformation spared, yet lingers among them,³⁵ however squalid their material wretchedness, however profound their moral degradation. The French artisan rejects Christianity, but is well aware that Catholicism is its true expression, and if his better instincts are aroused, is in no danger of being seduced by heretical counterfeits. The English artisan, on the contrary, while not usually an unbeliever, has been taught to regard the Catholic Church as simply anti-Christian, and, if impelled to seek for himself a religion, is more likely to look for it anywhere else than in her fold.

Such are the great masses of our working men. The Catholics among them are few in number, and are in great part of Irish extraction. Now the great foe of the poor Irishman is drink. The licensed victualler,³⁶ not the revolutionary incendiary, is the enemy against whose seductions he requires to be guarded. And this work has been taken in hand by associations specially designed to reclaim the fallen and to guard the falling from habits of drunkenness—associations whose labours, hallowed by the blessing of the Cardinal Archbishop and guided by his counsels, have unquestionably been most fruitful. Still, the fact

³⁵ I think M. Harmel is misinformed when he says, "Toute notion religieuse a disparu du milieu des populations anglaises" (*Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Lyon*, p. 431).

³⁶ It may be remarked, in passing, that as in France, so in this country, a principal note of the real enemies of the working classes is their bitter hatred of the Catholic Church. The organs of English journalism, which especially represent the beer-shop and gin-palace interest, are the most blatant and virulent in their tirades against Popery.

that drunkenness is the great foe of our Catholic workmen, and that societies have been specially established to rescue them from this vice, does not, I think, preclude a work in England similar, in some respects, to that of the Union des Œuvres Catholiques Ouvrières. There is still, as it appears to me, a wide field for organizations among us, analogous to the working men's Cercles Catholiques in France. It is a common complaint against the lower classes of Catholics in this country that they are unintelligent and helpless; and possibly the complaint may be not unfounded. Such a condition of things is the natural result of the disabilities under which Catholics lay for generations. In the formation of local societies for the study of Catholic questions, the furtherance of Catholic objects, the protection of Catholic interests—societies sanctified by the presence and guided by the wisdom of the parish priest, and united by ties of an elastic character to a common centre, and through it to one another—lies, as it seems to me, a means of wiping away this reproach. It is the earnest desire of the Catholic Union of Great Britain to promote, as widely as possible, the establishment of such societies, in connection with itself. A beginning has already been made. During the last twelve months Catholic societies, associated with the Catholic Union, have sprung up in various parts of the country, and there seems to be no reason why they should not exist in every mission in Great Britain, but every reason why they should. Not the least of the benefits which would result from these associations, in which Catholics of different shades of political opinion, and of different positions in life, would be brought together for common objects of the highest kind, would be the gradual disappearance of those petty jealousies and ignorant suspicions which spring, in great measure, from want of intercourse, and the development of a purer and stronger Catholic spirit. Every Catholic, worthy of the name, will, in theory, admit, that in Lord Denbigh's much-abused phrase, he is "a Catholic first:" that his nationality, his party politics, important as they are, must rank as matters of subordinate interest and importance. But, readily as this will be conceded in theory, it cannot be denied that many excellent Catholics have, in practice, been accustomed to forget it, and have blindly placed their moral influence, their political support, at the disposal of leaders, not only alien from themselves in faith, but sometimes even bitterly hostile to the Catholic religion. One result of the wide spread of Catholic associations can hardly

fail to be, to bring out clearly the fact, that the common principles and interests which bind Catholics to each other, are of infinitely greater importance than the ties which connect them with any section of the British political world. As has been remarked in a former portion of this paper, the spirit of the Union des Œuvres Catholiques Ouvrières, is described as being "before all things frankly Catholic, profoundly submissive to the Sovereign Pontiff, and full of filial respect for the Hierarchy." The more fully British Catholics realize how absolute is the necessity for close union among themselves, which exists in this age of the world—and everything which draws them together is calculated to help them to realize this,—the more largely will such a spirit be developed among us.

And in proportion as this spirit prevails, the influence for good, of Catholics in this country, will make itself felt. Numerically weak as we yet are, it is still possible to us, to exercise, from time to time, with signal effect, that power which the truth alone gives. This is possible to us, even now! And, looking to the future, if there is any hope for Great Britain in the general wreck of faith, and dissolution of morals, which assuredly await her, as the National Church, and the multitudinous sects which have sprung from it, crumble away into nothingness, like all the heresies which have preceded them, it lies in the Catholic portion of her population, who alone possess an indestructible creed, a creed as powerful to re-make Christian society now, as it was to create it centuries ago. In the words of the Bishop of Poitiers,³⁷ "C'est encore à l'Eglise de refaire aujourd' hui sous d'autres formes et avec cette variété de modes, que comporte son action exubérante, ce qu'elle avait fait si heureusement et si utilement dans le passé." This is the task which lies before her. It would seem to be alike the imperative duty and the high privilege of her children, to prepare, by close union and ungrudging cooperation among themselves, to take their part in it.

W. S. L.

³⁷ Quoted at p. 395 of the *Compte-Rendu* of the Congress of Lyons.

*Notes of a Voyage to Kerguelen Island to observe
the Transit of Venus, Dec. 8, 1874.*

PART THE SECOND.

THE pleasant feeling of once again beholding land, after a long and perilous journey over an almost unknown sea, was greatly enhanced by perceiving on our arrival that we were not alone in the land of desolation. To our surprise, we found two schooners in Island Harbour awaiting a favourable wind to carry them to Heard Island for the seal fishery. This was particularly fortunate, as the sealers were best able to give us the information we so much required, to guide us in the choice of good stations for our observations.

The day after our arrival was necessarily spent in putting things a little straight after the dreadful upset of the previous week, but Captain Fairfax managed to find time to make all necessary inquiries of Captain Bailey of the *Emma Jane*, who kindly volunteered to be our guide on the following day. Before leaving Simon's Bay, the eight chronometers, on which our longitude runs were to depend, had been housed with special care in the chart-room of the *Volage*, and then telegraphic signals had been received from the Royal Observatory at Cape Town on two separate days to determine accurately the errors and rates of these instruments. It now remained to find without delay our local time, in order to obtain the difference of longitude between Kerguelen and the Cape. This was done at once by Lieut. C. Corbet, R.N., who landed on Hog Island, so named after an enormous animal kept by the sealers near their wooden hut, and with the Delarue altazimuth a series of observations of the sun's altitude were taken, which gave most satisfactory results. Messrs. Sidgreaves and Perry landed at the same time with the magnetic instruments, but the frequent falls of snow prevented their obtaining any other magnetic elements except the declination. Lieutenants

Kane and Vivian very kindly assisted us in landing and erecting the instruments.

The next morning a heavy fall of snow and a strong south-west wind precluded all hope of attempting the exploration we had planned overnight, but at six a.m. the following day we were able to start in our steam pinnace, with the life-boat in tow, under the guidance of Captain Bailey. The anchorage at Island Harbour, which is protected by three large and one smaller island, is situated near the centre of Royal Sound, a large bay covering an area of more than a hundred square miles, with many islands scattered about it, principally in the west and south portions, some of which are several miles in length.

On our way to the spot within the Sound which Captain Bailey deemed most likely to suit our purposes, we passed an island, which almost realized the descriptions given of Kerguelen by the seaman Nunn, who was left there with a few companions in 1825. Speaking of midsummer, he says: "The cold was so intensely painful that, to avoid its effects, we were induced to bury ourselves in the snow, where we remained for three hours . . . The frosts are frequently intense: the ponds or lakes amongst the rocks in various parts of the island would be covered with ice of great thickness in the course of one night: even in the summer months this would frequently take place." And in another place he gives an extraordinary account of an ice-barred cavern: "The water, that usually falls in an elegant and gentle cascade from the rocks over the mouth of this cavern, appeared to have been arrested by the frost, forming itself into the crystal pillars which sealed its entrance . . . Within were no less than fourteen young sea-elephants completely imprisoned . . . They had probably resorted to this place for protection from the inclemencies of the weather; and upon the sudden occurrence of frost, which is usual in this climate, the ice had sealed the entrance and prevented their escape." The sight we witnessed on October 11th was less romantic, but it amazed us not a little, for the whole of the steep rocky shores of the island we were passing were partially covered with enormous icicles, which must have been formed by a very rapid congelation of the melted snow or rain torrents.

As the sea was smooth we reached our destination in a few hours, and there we were fortunate enough to find at once a

station which offered every advantage we could desire, both on land and sea. The site was well protected by hills on the north and west, but not in such a way as to interfere with the horizon. The foundations for the instruments were the solid rock, and the supply of fresh water was excellent and abundant. For the vessels the anchorage was all that could be desired, and the landing place for the goods easy of access and well protected.

Having settled upon this favourable spot for our primary station, we steered southwards in search of a second position, but the sun was getting low, and our supply of coal still lower, before we reached the spot to which Captain Bailey was guiding us, so we returned to our ship, not, however, without requiring the aid of our life-boat and of a whaler to help us through the kelp.

H.M.S. *Supply* had in the meantime anchored in Island Harbour, all well, having weathered the storms even better than we had done, but with the loss of all her live stock. The officers who arrived in her brought letters from the Cape for Captain Ryan, chief of the Amerian Kerguelen Expedition, and they were, therefore, immediately rowed across Royal Sound in a whaling boat to Molloy Point, where the American station was already established on the spot indicated by H.M.S. *Challenger*.

The next morning the two schooners started with a fair but gentle breeze for Heard Island, and we quickly followed them in our steam-launch to examine Mutton Cove, a point for observations near the south entrance to the Sound, which had been indicated by Captain Bailey. This place was not found to be as favourable as we expected, so we returned at once towards our vessels. The wind had meanwhile freshened a little, and our steam power proved insufficient, as we could barely stem the waves. Two ways out of our difficulty were open to us, if we wished to avoid spending the night without food in an open boat, or on a rock to leeward—either to hammer down our safety valve, which would give us greater steam power, or to go in search of aid in the lifeboat which we had in tow. The more expeditious course was taken, and we regained our vessels with only the loss of a little time.

Preparations had been made for departure during our absence, and the *Volage* and *Supply* left Island Harbour for our chief astronomical station the same afternoon. To save time the steam-

launch was towed astern of the *Volage*, and not content with the delay it had caused us in the morning, it now went through a more serious evolution by disappearing under the waves. The *Swatara*, U.S.N., lost her steam cutter on the other side the Sound in a very similar manner, but we managed to save ours at the expense of anchoring for the night near the spot where she sank. Next morning we were again under steam, and arrived without further accident at our new home, which was soon christened Observatory Bay. As soon as we had dropped our anchors, we went on shore to mark out the exact sites for our dwelling, storehouse, and principal observing huts. Captain Fairfax was on shore in the afternoon arranging a shed for the cattle that had survived the storms.

The ground, which we had chosen for the observatory buildings, was fairly level, and consisted partly of the bare rock, and partly of a soft moist soil covered with a large species of moss or azorella, with here and there some Kerguelen cabbages and other plants. Our first care was to drain the ground destined for our dwelling and observatories, and to build a pier for landing the heavy huts, and instruments, and stores, but at the same time preparations were made for laying the foundations of our instruments without delay. The erection of the pier and the landing of the goods was confided to the care of Lieutenant Vivian, who had at his command a large working party of marines and blue jackets from H.M.S. *Volage*. Both men and officers aided us with right good will, and it would be difficult to overrate the assistance and encouragement we received on this, and on every other occasion, from Captains Fairfax and Inglis, who were in command of the two vessels of the expedition.

If was far from an easy task to establish an observatory so completely equipped as that at our primary station. After the draining of the ground, the building of a landing pier, the unloading of the *Supply*, which carried more than six hundred cases, some of which weighed over a ton, and the conveyance of these up a steep incline to our observatory plateau, we had to erect a dwelling for the observers, with storehouse and bakehouse, and to put together the separate observing huts for transit and altazimuth, equatoreal and photoheliograph. Each instrument required a very solid foundation, so we dug down to the solid rock, levelled as far as necessary with concrete, built a brick pier to the most convenient height, and then cemented the stone

of the instrument upon it. A similar pier had also to be erected for our magnetic instruments. For meteorology less preparation was required, but we were a little delayed by being obliged to replace the thermometer screen which had been destroyed in the last storm at sea.

When the buildings and piers were ready, the instruments had to be unpacked and put together, and examined in every detail, and small alterations made where necessary. Fortunately we found that no serious injury had been sustained by the delicate portions of the instruments, and we escaped with the loss of a barometer, some thermometers, a spirit-level, the spider-lines of a telescope, and a few other minor details. As each telescope was mounted it was brought at once into active service, and by the beginning of November everything was in full working order. At night one observer was at the transit instrument, watching the passage of stars across the meridian, and thus determining the precise error of our standard clock, and its daily rate of change. It was of the utmost importance to study for a considerable time the comportment of both instrument and clock, in order to discover if either had any irregularity that could be corrected; for it was necessary to feel confident that we could depend on our time to within the tenth of a second. Another observer was stationed each night at the altazimuth, a beautiful instrument, specially designed by Sir G. B. Airy for this expedition, and capable by star observation of determining the latitude to within a few yards. On nights when the moon was visible the telescope of the altazimuth was frequently directed towards it, and lunar altitudes or azimuths taken, from which the longitude could be calculated. At the transit instrument the moon's meridian passage was most jealously watched, for the same purpose as that for which the lunar observations were made with the altazimuth.

During the day the work of the night was computed, and the calculations carried on as far as it was necessary for the purpose of determining the error and rate of our standard clock, and of securing the perfect working of the instruments. Then we had daily practice with the prepared model of the transit of Venus, observing the contacts, measuring the separation of the cusps of the limb, and taking distances between the sun and Venus, as the dark round disc was carried by clockwork across its bright background, which represented the sun. A familiarity with the use of micrometer and telescope was thus acquired, and all doubt

removed of the performance of the instrument or the skill of the observer. With the photoheliograph the sun's picture was taken several times on every favourable day, with the object of training the observers, of finding the best focus of the telescope, of testing its mounting, and of making certain that the sensitized plates were well prepared. Several hours a day were also spent in preparing the dry plates that were to be used for sun pictures on the day of the transit. A daily comparison of each clock and chronometer with our standard clock, and a calculation of the error and rate of each was also required, so that no instrument might be used on the 8th of December that was not thoroughly known. Occasional practice with a spectroscope, adapted to a 4-in. equatorial, to be used at external contact, completed the programme of our daily astronomical work. As for magnetic observations, we could scarcely spare any time for these during the month of preparation for the transit, as we did not wish to undertake anything that might in the least interfere with our astronomical duties, and we hoped to find ample opportunities afterwards for the study of terrestrial magnetism. Meteorology did not present the same difficulties as magnetism, for the observations could all be made by the corporal and privates of the Royal Engineers, who devoted themselves to this with a zeal that never flagged. From the Cape to Kerguelen a series of meteorological observations was taken, until the storm of the 6th of October destroyed the thermometers, of which however we fortunately possessed duplicates. The meteorological office, under the charge of Mr. R. Scott, had liberally provided us with all things necessary for a complete observatory—barometers and aneroids, dry and wet thermometers with screen, maximum and minimum thermometers with screen, a maximum for the sun, a minimum for the grass, sea thermometers, and four earth thermometers to be buried at the depths of one, two, three, and four feet respectively, with an aneroid for recording the velocity of the wind, and a rain gauge. A tide gauge erected by the *Volage* was also read on shore. Observations were taken every two hours, day and night, during our stay on the island, and the care with which the work was done reflects the greatest credit on the men employed, who never complained of this heavy addition to their daily labours, but did it cheerfully and well.

During the progress of our preparations we were a little impeded by the heavy gales and frequent falls of snow, but towards the end of October the weather became somewhat milder.

On the 25th of this month the early risers were rewarded by a sight, curious from its rarity. Snow had fallen for a short time and in very large flakes, and as the sea was at the time perfectly calm, and at a low temperature, the snow rested on the water to the depth of at least half an inch, and remained there for good part of an hour. The inclemency of the weather did not deter those officers who were not required for active service on board or on shore from making frequent excursions in the neighbourhood of our observatory to explore the resources and products of the island. The strangeness and wildness of the scenery, which presents a dreary sameness of hill and bog and lake, without a tree or shrub to vary the monotony of the landscape, would scarcely have secured an oft-repeated visit, had not the full game bags each evening been a temptation not easy to put aside with the prospect of a long sojourn in a desert island. The reports we had heard of the abundance of wild duck were proved not to be a mere imagination, and though somewhat small in size, the birds were pronounced on all hands to be equal in flavour to anything of the sort in Europe. Nor were these the only welcome gifts that our newly adopted country provided spontaneously. Everywhere we found an abundant supply of the plant known as Kerguelen cabbage, which, when carefully boiled in several changes of water, lost all its bitterness, and became a general favourite at the dinner table. Penguin soup was by some considered very good as a change, having much the same flavour and appearance as hare-soup; but the Penguin steaks were scarcely a success, the black, hard flesh being anything but inviting. The eggs, too, were good, and made palatable omelets, though their greenish colour was decidedly against them. As soon as the preparations at our principal station were sufficiently advanced, we began to think of establishing our second station for observations, and on the 27th of October an expedition was organized for attempting a second time the exploration of the country about Swain's Haulover, a narrow neck of land separating Royal Sound from Swain's Bay. On this trip we used H.M.S. *Supply* instead of the steam-launch, and assured ourselves before our return that there were several spots well suited for our purpose, though very inferior, as a primary station, to that which we already occupied.

As yet, time had not allowed us to pay an official visit to our American friends at Molloy Point, near the north entrance of the Sound, and all that we had seen of them so far was the

hurried visit paid by the officers who brought their letters from the Cape. Not being supplied with a convenient boat, they were unable to travel so far as Observatory Bay, so it became a duty to call on them as soon as possible. A couple of hours of careful navigation brought the *Supply* in sight of the American station, and Captain Ryan, U.S.N., had hoisted the stars and stripes on his flagstaff, and hastened down to the beach to welcome us, before we had lowered a boat to reach the shore. The Americans were stationed on the side of a hill facing east, their instruments being placed at considerable differences of elevation on account of the slope of the ground. Their supply of water was excellent, and the wild duck even more numerous than in our neighbourhood. Their instruments consisted of a transit, a photoheliograph, and an equatoreal, established in separate huts at a distance from their dwelling, and there was an air of comfort and cheerfulness about their establishment, due in part to the numerous fowls to be seen running about in every direction. Our reception was hearty, and after we had spent some time examining their instruments and other objects of interest, they, at the request of Captain Fairfax, accompanied us to the *Supply*, and spent the evening with us at Observatory Bay. The next morning arrangements were made for longitude signals on Muscle Island, which could be observed simultaneously by Americans and English, and then our friends departed, and the *Supply*, after touching at Molloy Point, carried a detachment of the British astronomers to the site chosen a few days previously for our second station of observation.

Lieut. C. Corbet and Lieut. G. E. Coke, R.N., were to occupy this post, assisted by Sub.-Lieut. Baines and Mr. Dorrien, midshipman, R.N. Their instruments consisted of a transit for time observations, a small altazimuth for the latitude, and two 4-in. telescopes, mounted on tripods, for watching the passage of Venus across the sun's disc. A good clock, some chronometers, and the necessary meteorological instruments, completed their scientific equipment. No time was lost by officers or men, and on the 12th of November the dwelling and observatory were erected, the brick piers built, stores landed, and all necessary arrangements completed, and H.M.S. *Supply* returned to Observatory Bay. The departure of the vessel proved unfortunate in the sequel, though the difficulty which arose could not have been foreseen. On the very evening of the ship's return to our principal station, the observer at the transit instrument, which had

just been erected, had the misfortune to break the spider-lines over which the passage of stars is observed, and this accident, slight though it may appear, rendered the telescope useless. As the spiders that spin geometrical webs happen to be unknown in Kerguelen, and the spider-lines taken out from England were all at the principal station, it was necessary to undertake a journey overland from Swain's Haulover to Observatory Bay in order to get the damage repaired. Lieut. E. Coke and Sub.-Lieut. Baines started at once on this errand, and though the direct distance can scarcely be more than six good miles, the expedition nearly cost them their lives. They left Swain's Haulover about mid-day, and night came on before they had passed the second of the three inlets which separate the two stations. Their difficulties arose partly from the nature of the ground, which consists either of rough hills, covered often with loose stones, or of soft, boggy land, into which they were continually in danger of sinking up to the knees, and partly from the inlets of the sea, which run in every direction into the land, often to the distance of ten or twelve miles. The two officers had walked round one of these long arms of the sea, when they were overtaken by the darkness, and prevented attempting the second before night. In the absence of daylight it would have been too dangerous, and almost impossible, to advance, so they sat down side by side, cold and hungry, with the prospect of still harder work on the morrow. Having scarcely any food, and thinking it hopeless to attempt to walk round all the inlets, they determined at day-break to swim across the water. The temperature was scarcely above freezing-point, but there was little choice left. Fortunately the water was not deep at the point where they made their first attempt, and they were able to wade safely across. But the second trial was more serious, as they had to swim nearly a quarter of a mile, and to pull themselves through the kelp, wherever this strong sea-weed made all attempt at swimming abortive. Both had strength enough to gain the shore, and afterwards reach our dwelling, though they arrived completely exhausted from cold, fatigue and hunger. A good sleep, and the best food we could procure, had put all to rights by the next day, when they started again for Swain's Haulover in the steam pinnace of the *Volage*.

This trip of the steam pinnace served another purpose as well as that of conveying back the two officers with their dearly bought spider-lines, for it was necessary for the chiefs of the

expedition to hold a final consultation about the disposition of the observers on the day of the transit, which was drawing very near. It had been proposed to occupy, if possible, Heard Island, as well as Observatory Bay, and Swain's Haulover, and every inquiry had been made of Captain Bailey and others about the practicability of the scheme. Now that the Americans had not occupied the Crozets, and that all the Kerguelen observatories, American, German, and English, were in or near Royal Sound, one large cloud might easily extinguish all our hopes. A station a few hundred miles to the south-east would strengthen our position wonderfully, and even if the most perfect chronometer connection could not be made between Kerguelen and Heard Island, the latter might still serve as a first class Halleyian station, independently of its longitude. Both Germans and Americans had at first expressed their intention of establishing themselves on Heard Island, and it was only after the reports of H.M.S. *Challenger* that we learnt that they preferred settling down near our station in Kerguelen. An important spot was therefore deserted, and we determined, if possible, to occupy it ourselves, without weakening materially our principal stations. The reports of the *Challenger*, combined with what we had already learnt from the sealers, had not as yet forced us to renounce our project, and Captain Fairfax was still holding H.M.S. *Volage* in readiness to make the trip to Heard. We had been for some time anxiously awaiting the arrival of Captain Fuller in the *Roswell King*, who is considered the highest authority on any question connected with these islands. He had just arrived at Swain's Bay, and had an interview with the observers of the second station. His report of Heard was even less favourable than those of the other sealers. It appears that there is only one spot where a landing can be effected even in good weather, and that there both observers and instruments would have to be conveyed on shore in the small whaling boats of the sealers, the surf rendering the use of the ship's boats out of the question. The chances too of a fine day were very small, indeed there were few days on which it would be possible to land at all. With such a prospect before us it would have been scarcely prudent to have sent the *Volage* to sea, to expend the valuable supply of coal, which we were sure to need so much in the calms of the tropics on our return, and to expose her crew to all the hardships of gales such as we had already experienced off Kerguelen. Had there been fair hopes

of success, Captain Fairfax would have made the venture, and Lieut. E. Coke had generously volunteered to conduct the observations, but under the circumstances nothing remained to be done but to settle upon some other site for our third station.

During our stay at Kerguelen the naturalist, the Rev. A. E. Eaton, had spent his time wandering among the hills, and had noticed that the sun was not equally generous to all parts of the island, and that the country around Thumb Peak, in the south-east portion of Royal Sound, met with special favour. It was resolved therefore to replace Heard Island by Thumb Peak, and Lieut. Goodridge, one of the staff of astronomers at Observatory Bay, was selected for this station; Mr. Eaton, who had kindly volunteered his services, assisting him as time-keeper.

According to our instructions from the Admiralty, we had to look for assistance on the day of the transit to the naval officers of the two vessels forming part of the expedition. As we were unprovided with chronographs this help became absolutely necessary, for it would be impossible for the observer at the telescope to remove his eye for an instant during the time immediately preceding or following the internal contacts of the planet with the sun's disc without risking the loss of the most important phase. Both Captain Fairfax and Captain Inglis set the excellent example of volunteering for this service, and there was no difficulty in completing the required number.

As the eventful day drew nearer, the preparations became more and more active. Each morning soon after sunrise all the instruments were pointed in the direction they were to assume at the same hour on December 8th, in order to make certain that nothing might be unforeseen, that no clock or other fixed object might be in the observer's way, and that no instrument worked badly in the required position. The officers who had volunteered to help in the observations came almost daily on shore to practise with the model transit, and to familiarize themselves with the duties assigned to each. Two days before the transit, H.M.S. *Supply* left Observatory Bay to establish Lieut. Goodridge and the Rev. A. E. Eaton at Thumb Peak. They found an excellent site overlooking the sea, and, aided by Captain Inglis, erected a temporary shelter for their telescope as a protection against high winds. The legs of the instrument were also fastened with molten lead, in holes cut in the solid rock, to secure all possible freedom from vibration.

On the eve of the transit everything was in complete readiness at all three stations, and the following was the plan of observations finally agreed upon as best carrying out the views of Sir G. B. Airy, and utilizing to the utmost all the means at our disposal. At Thumb Peak, Lieut. Goodridge, with a 4-inch telescope and assisted by the Rev. A. E. Eaton was to observe the contacts at the ingress and egress of the planet: at Swain's Haulover, Lieut. Corbet, with a 4-inch telescope and assisted by Sub-Lieut. Baines, and Lieut. Coke with a $3\frac{3}{4}$ -inch telescope and assisted by Mr. Dorrien, mid. R.N., were to take observations similar to those at Thumb Peak; and at Observatory Bay, the same was to be done by the Rev. W. Sidgreaves, with the Sheepshanks' 4-inch equatoreal, and assisted by Nav.-Lieut. Fenn. This series of observations at the three stations was the more valuable on account of the similarity of the instruments, which had all nearly the same aperture. Besides these similar observations three other series were to be carried on at Observatory Bay. Captain H. Fairfax, the Rev. J. Budds, and Lieut. Dowding, R.M., assisted by Mr. Carden, mid. R.N., were to take independent observations of the contacts at ingress and egress, all watching the same magnified image of the sun projected on a white screen by the Jones' 4-inch equatoreal. The Rev. S. J. Perry, assisted by Lieut. Gamble, R.N., was to observe the contacts at ingress and egress with a 6-inch equatoreal, to measure frequently the distance between the cusps before internal contact at ingress, and after it at egress, and also the distance between Venus and the sun's limb whilst the planet was on the disc and very near the edge, and at other times to obtain a series of values of the planet's diameter with a double image micrometer. At the photoheliograph the work was much heavier, but it was shared by several. Previously to the commencement of the transit several pictures of the sun were to be taken by Mr. J. B. Smith, assisted by Corporal Wright and Sapper Wilson. A negative of the reticule in the eye-piece was also required as a test for shrinkage of film, and a double negative of the sun to determine the position of the wires of the telescope. Just before the first external contact, of which notice was to be given by the observer at the spectroscope, the sun was to be photographed every second, by aid of a Janssen plate, during the space of one minute, and then photographs were required only every two minutes until Venus approached internal contact. Three minutes before this

contact a second Janssen plate of fifty pictures was to be exposed, followed by a third which was to include the contact, and a fourth immediately afterwards. The second and fourth Janssen plates were strongly recommended by the Admiralty Astronomer at the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. E. J. Stone, as the second would afford the means of measuring afterwards the distances of the cusps, and the fourth the distances of the limbs of Venus and the sun, in close proximity to the most important instant. These Janssen plates were to be followed by ordinary solar negatives taken every two minutes during the four hours between internal contact at ingress and egress, with an occasional picture of the reticule, and a position-of-wires negative. At egress the photographs were to be precisely the same as at ingress, but the order of the phenomena would of course be inverted.

During the whole time of the transit the process of developing the plates was to be carried on in the dark room. Sapper Hilbert, an experienced photographer, had the sole charge of this important duty, with the exception of two half-hours, when the Rev. S. J. Perry was to replace him. Dry plate photography having been preferred to wet, it was only necessary at the time to develop sufficient plates for making certain that everything was working well; the rest of the plates could safely be developed later.

A large direct vision spectroscope was made by Mr. Browning expressly for the observation of Venus on the chromosphere, by aid of which external contact might be satisfactorily obtained at ingress, and notice given to the photographers and others of the near approach of the planet. The instrument was confided to the Rev. W. Sidgreaves. Such was our proposed plan of operations, and we retired to rest with the hope of a rich and plenteous harvest on the following morning.

S. J. P.

Holland,

1672.

LAND, that human toil had earned,
Land, that tyrants' tread e'er spurned,
The glance of cold Toledo steel
 Essayed in vain to pierce thy mists ;
In vain the banners of Castille
 Once proudly waived within the lists
That saw oppression's shattered brands
Reel to and fro in palsied hands
 When, fired by freedom's holy call,
 Thy sons unto the waters gave
 Their country, home, their earthly all,
 And sank beneath the boiling wave
The soil their labour caused to rise
And drowned in seas their country's sighs.

Soars thy flag above the spray ;
Quickly ebbs the tide away,
 To leave a pure and unsoiled gem
 That Europe sees with dumb amaze
Set sparkling in her diadem
 Of nations lit by freedom's rays.
Morass with kelp and seaweed bound
Became arts', learning's, classic ground,
 A goddess risen from the sea,
 Of wondrous birth thy hallowed soil,
 Thou nestling of humanity,
 Created by its noble toil,
Shall to far distant times proclaim
The glory of the Fleming name.

W. CHARLES BRYANT.

UTRECHT,
September, 1875.

Labour and Capital.

III.—LABOUR AND CAPITAL IN AGRICULTURE.

FROM the workmen in mines and factories let us turn to the agricultural population. To understand their present position we must look back some four hundred years, to the reigns of Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth. For a thorough discussion of the subject it would indeed be needful to start in the German backwoods, and to describe the ancient organization of the mark or village community; just as for a thorough discussion of the manufacturing industries it would be needful to trace from the earliest times, the various organizations of the handicrafts. But in both cases such a discussion would exceed my present limits, so that I must confine myself to the period and to the events that are indispensable, if we are to understand the present condition of our agricultural population.

In the third quarter of the fifteenth century the great mass of the population was agricultural, and was in a state of great prosperity, to which Fortescue,¹ who wrote between 1461 and 1470, as well as many other authorities,² bear witness. The working agricultural population of that time can be divided roughly into two great classes. The first class was that of the yeomen or soccage tenants or small freeholders cultivating their lands with the aid of their families and perhaps of a permanent workman living in their house and sharing at their table. This class of yeomen had probably largely increased in the century

¹ Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Angliæ*, xxvi. (Edit. Cincinnati, 1874.) "Inhabitantes terram illam locupletes sunt, habundantes auro et argento, et cunctis necessariis vite. Aquam ipsi non bibunt, nisi qui ob devotionis et penitentie zelum aliquando ab aliis potibus se abstinere, omni genere carniū et piscium ipsi in copia vescuntur, quibus patria illa non modice est referta, pannis de lanis bonis ipsi induuntur in omnibus operimentis suis, etiam abundant in lectisterniis, et quolibet suppellectili cui lana congruit in omnibus domibus suis, necnon opulenti ipsi sunt in omnibus hustilimentis domus (household goods), necessariis culture, et omnibus que ad quietam et felicem vitam exiguntur, secundum status suos.

As the Paston Letters and contemporary ballads. See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. pp. 372—374. Ellis, *Specimens of English Poetry*, i. ch. xiii.

before the Wars of the Roses, as after the depopulation caused by the plague in 1348—49, the great landowners, through the scarcity of workmen, found it advantageous to give permanent leases of their lands for quit-rents.³ The second class was that of the copyholders and cottiers, all holding more or less land, even were it but a small garden, all secure from eviction, and all having rights of common. From this class were drawn the agricultural labourers, namely those who cultivated such portions of the demesne lands of the feudal aristocracy as were not let to small tenants. The wages given, estimated according to their purchase power, were very high, and moreover only composed one part of the revenue of the labourers, as they had a house of their own, or held on very easy terms, and also from their rights of common, could supply themselves with fuel, milk, butter, eggs, and much else. Professors Nasse and Rogers⁴ are agreed as to the well-being of the agricultural population at this time, and in fact it can scarcely now be called in question.

This was indeed the golden age of rural England. But a new period terribly different set in. The Wars of the Roses swept off the ancient nobility, and the new landed aristocracy that took their place was not bound by the old ties to the lower population. The dismissal of great bodies of the old feudal retainers, a proceeding favoured by the policy of the crown, increased the class of mere hired labourers. But above all the system of *inclosures* was disastrous to the agricultural population. This word is employed for two processes. One is the break-up of the village community, so that the villagers, and the lord of the manor among them, no longer hold their (arable) land intermixed in several plots, cultivated in concert on a fixed system binding on all, but receive their share of land in a lump together to be cultivated as they please. The other process is the division of woodland, fen, or pasture land, held in common among the co-proprietors, or else the appropriation of the common land to one or a few individuals, who indemnify in money or otherwise

³ Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, vol. i. pp. 24—26. Nasse, *Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages*, translated by Ouvry. Second Edition, pp. 24—26.

⁴ Professor Rogers' work extends at present only as far as the year 1400, but in describing the prosperity at that date, he remarks that it increased still further up to the reign of Edward the Fourth (p. 25). His testimony is particularly acceptable as he is no *laudator temporis acti*, but in his otherwise excellent history indulges from time to time in some of the unhistorical platitudes of the vulgar liberal economists.

those who had rights of common thereon. Both these processes recommended themselves to the large landowners in the time of the Tudors. The flourishing manufactories of Flanders gave a market for wool, and the love of foreign luxuries—wine, spices, fine clothes—made the large landowners anxious to breed more sheep. But this could be done on no large scale so long as the old system of intermixed fields, common cultivation, and common pasture prevailed. For the technical reasons for this I can refer to Nasse's treatise already cited.⁵ It is enough for us that the large proprietors eagerly desired inclosures, and that at the same time they were strong enough to prevent anything like order or fairness in the process;⁶ and thus instead of just, orderly, and general inclosures, such as have been frequent in Germany in recent times, they were fragmentary, violent, and unjust. The lords of the manor inclosed their own allotments in the arable land of the village, and by this withdrawal of one portion from the community of cultivation, the common cultivation of the rest would be rendered difficult or impossible, so that the smaller free and copyholders would be ready to part with their lands and common rights on any terms.⁷ These were bought up by the lords, the arable land was laid down in grass (or alternating grass and tillage), and the old villages and farm buildings were pulled down. The lords doubly gained: by acquiring land at a mere nominal price, and by freeing the common pasture from the rights of the small landholders. Indeed ever since the times when personal services were commuted for payments in money or kind, "the lord of the manor had no longer an interest . . . in the preservation of the small peasant; it was more convenient for him to draw the same amount of rents from a less number; it was advantageous to emancipate the manorial pastures from pasturage rights, and certainly much easier to convert large peasant properties into leasehold tenures than smaller ones."⁸ But the old lords were not ever on the look-out for what was "advantageous," and

⁵ Nasse, l.c. pp. 81—90, who, however, in marking the error of the agricultural revolution being *entirely* a change from tillage to pasture, seems to fall into an opposite error, and ignore the very considerable diminution of tillage, for which there is such abundant evidence. That wheat grew no dearer is no objection; for there was less "effective" demand for wheat. The wretched peasantry, driven as we shall see from their homes and lands, were hungry indeed; but as they had no means of payment, their hunger did not affect the price of wheat.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 90, 91.

⁷ Morier, in *Systems of Land Tenure* (Cobden Club publication), p. 321.

⁸ Nasse, l.c. p. 74.

though cases occur as early as the fourteenth century of smaller villein tenements being merged in large ones,⁹ this was altogether exceptional till the times of the Tudors.¹⁰

The taste of stolen goods was sweet to the new lords; and not content with having dismissed their retainers, broken up the common cultivation, turned arable land into pasture, created distress, and taken advantage of it to purchase at nominal prices, they took up a simpler and speedier method of enrichment. The "copyholders were driven in great numbers from their rural hides. . . . His (the poor small peasant's) rights rested on the custom of the manor, which was to be proved from the manor roll, in the possession of the lord of the manor; and a copyholder could lose these rights by numerous acts, by which he failed in his obligations towards the lord, or even by acting otherwise than in unison with rights established by custom of the manors. The small copyholders were not in a position to establish such rights before learned tribunals, when opposed by experienced advocates. Latimer, on this account, accuses the judges even of injustice and corruption—being open to bribes—and maintains that 'in these days gold is all-powerful with the tribunals.' Certainly, also, a time like that under the rule of Henry the Eighth and the following years, while so great a revolution in Church and State was in progress, could not have been favourable for the support of rights which were dependent upon custom. A change so sudden as the secularization of the monastery properties, and which appeared to the mass of the population to be so unjust, must have shaken the respect of the rural population [or rather of the large landowners] for all traditional rules relative to property. Thus, a publication which appeared in the year 1546, complains that the new possessors of Church property generally declared that, by the secularization, *all the old rights of property of the copyholders were extinguished*. The possessors, according to the custom of the manor, were obliged either to give up their holdings, or to retain them

⁹ Nasse, l.c. p. 75.

¹⁰ It is all-important in history to distinguish what is isolated and exceptional from what is general and normal. There were unjust inclosures from the time of the statute of Merton (20 Henry III. c. iv.) onwards, as is shown by suits brought by commoners for insufficiency of common. See Cliffe Leslie, *Land Systems of England and the Continent*, p. 211. Such acts were, however, quite exceptional, just as the statement of Sir Thomas More that certain abbots joined in the prevailing practice of inclosures and evictions, points to quite exceptional conduct, and does not affect the general truth that the population on Church lands were prosperous and secure, according to the old maxim—"It is good living under the crozier."

on temporary leases."¹¹ Similar testimony to the great conspiracy of lords and lawyers against the peasantry is borne by Professor Cliffe Leslie. Commenting on Hamlet's speech on the skull of a lawyer (act v. scene 1), he says,¹² "Not to speak of the risks of an 'action for battery' against a powerful noble if he chose to have him knocked on the head;¹³ how was the copyholder to produce a box of conveyances in the control of the lord himself? Was it likely that the small proprietor could outwit the lord's sharp lawyer, with 'his cases, his tenures, and his tricks?' The burning hatred which the peasantry of his own time felt towards the ministers of a legal system by which they were oppressed and ruined, breathes in the language which the great dramatist puts in the mouth of Cade and his followers."¹⁴

But the plunder was incomplete as long as a great part of England was in the feudal possession of the Church, under the mantle of whose protection dwelt a prosperous multitude of freeholders and (more especially) copyholders. The story of the colossal robbery of Church property¹⁵ is well known. Henry and his Parliament of large landowners fell upon their prey. The lands of the monasteries were mostly given away to royal favourites,¹⁶ or granted at nominal prices to speculative farmers or rich townfolk, and the new proprietors (as we have already seen in the passage cited from Nasse) chased out the old tenants who, as virtual co-proprietors with fixity of tenure had been there for ages.¹⁷ At one blow the lower classes lost a vast amount of land that was truly their own, and a potential right to much more, as from their ranks were largely recruited the clergy, monks, and nuns. They were thus doubly robbed, and lost as well a house of refuge in distress, of help in sickness, of hospitality when journeying, besides many other economical,

¹¹ Nasse, l.c. pp. 91, 92. The italics are our own. Significant are the facilities for leases given by several statutes of Henry the Eighth (*Ibid.* p. 93).

¹² Cliffe Leslie, *Land Systems*, &c., p. 218.

¹³ Besides being got rid of by force or fraud, tenants were, according to Sir Thomas More, tired out by repeated injuries into parting with their property.

¹⁴ *Henry the Sixth*, part ii. act iv. scene 2. *Dick*. The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers. *Cade*. Nay, that I mean to do. Is not this a lamentable thing, that the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment, being scribbled o'er should undo a man?

¹⁵ So it is well called by Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Second Edition, p. 750.

¹⁶ Hallam, *Constitutional History*, vol. i. pp. 75, 76, 78. Seventh Edition.

¹⁷ Marx, l.c. pp. 750, 751.

educational and above all moral and religious advantages. The plunder of the possessions of the regular clergy under Henry the Eighth was capped by the plunder of those of the secular clergy—chantries and bishoprics—under Edward the Sixth, and more than half the property of the bishoprics and chapters was seized in this short reign by the greedy courtiers.¹⁸ Professor Rogers is certainly not wrong when he briefly says—"The mass of the people were losers by the Reformation."¹⁹

Legislation indeed had made attempts to check the eviction of the peasantry. In 1488 (4 Henry VII. c. 16 and 19), two Acts were passed, one against *latifundia* in the Isle of Wight, the other against "pulling down of townes," that is, destruction of villages and farm-buildings, not towns as we use the word. Several other kindred Acts, forbidding the destruction of buildings, the conversion of arable into pasture land, and the keeping more than a certain number of sheep, were passed under Henry the Eighth,²⁰ but they were in the main a dead letter.²¹

The Act against pulling down farm houses," says Mr. Froude, "had been evaded by the repair of a room which might be occupied by a shepherd; a single furrow would be driven across a meadow of one hundred acres, to prove that it was still under the plough. The great cattle owners to escape the sheep statutes, held their stock in the names of their sons and servants."²² How like the evasions of the Factory Acts by modern manufacturers! But in fact it is little likely that these laws, at least those in the reign of Henry the Eighth, would have been passed, unless it had been foreseen that they would be inoperative; and they were not at all consistent with the laws facilitating leases, still less with the secularization of Church property. A gleam of hope lit up the dark prospect when the Lord Protector Somerset, who had some compassion for the sufferings of the lower classes, appointed a Royal Commission for the redress of inclosures. It was greeted with great rejoicings by the country people, but ended in complete failure. The great proprietors who had persecuted those peasants who gave evidence, and by intimidation had prevented much evidence being given, threw out the three Bills brought

¹⁸ Hallam, l.c. p. 94; Lingard, *History of England*, vol. v. p. 179. Sixth Edition.

¹⁹ Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, i. p. 10.

²⁰ See them in Nasse, pp. 75, 76. Marx, pp. 748, 749.

²¹ According to Froude, *Hist. of Engl.* i. pp. 27, 28 (First Edition), the Act as to the Isle of Wight was a success. If it was so, it was quite exceptional.

²² Froude, l.c. v. p. 112.

in by John Hales, the most zealous member of the Commission for the benefit of the peasantry.²³ "It is no wonder," says Nasse, "that under such circumstances the country population attempted to apply a remedy themselves."²⁴ They rose to defend their ancient faith and ancient homesteads. The great rising of 1549 shows the intimate connection between the progress of heresy and the progress of inclosures. As is known, the insurgents were overcome by Italian and German mercenaries, and the victory rested with that corrupt aristocracy who were robbing the English common people of their lands and their faith. Even Mr. Froude admits "the destruction of ten thousand brave Englishmen by the hands of foreigners,"²⁵ and Hallam notices the humiliating concession of the ultra-Protestant Burnet, that the Protestant faith was imposed upon our ancestors by a foreign army.²⁶ Somerset, who had dared previously to protect the peasants, and who now sought to restrain the vengeance of the victors, was deposed and imprisoned, and Parliament passed one Act against the Catholic religion and another against resisting inclosures and extortions."²⁷

The eviction of the peasantry, which as we have seen the law failed to restrain, produced misery such as England had never known before. The new mode of cultivation required fewer labourers than the old, so that those chased out of house and holding were often unable to find work, and often unwilling after being robbed of their property and their independence, to work as hired servants. The evil grew apace under Henry the Eighth, and was fearfully augmented by the dissolution of the monasteries. Mr. Froude well describes the state of things under Edward the Sixth. After explaining²⁸ the "social revolution," that is, encroachments, inclosures, and conversion of arable into pasture land, he observes that "the highways and villages were covered in consequence with forlorn and outcast families, now reduced to beggary, who had been occupiers of comfortable holdings; and thousands of dispossessed tenants made their way to London, clamouring in the midst of their starving children at the doors of the courts of law for

²³ On this commission and its failure, see Nasse, pp. 78—80.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 80.

²⁵ Froude, *l.c.* v. p. 218.

²⁶ Hallam, *l.c.* i. p. 93.

²⁷ Lingard, *l.c.* v. pp. 145, 147, 148.

²⁸ Froude, *Hist. of Engl.* v. p. 108. First Edition.

redress which they could not obtain."²⁹ From the sermons of Latimer can be seen the decline of charity, the increase of luxury side by side with misery, the utter corruption of the lawyers.³⁰ "To drive poor people out of their dwelling," cried out Bernard Gilpin,³¹ "they consider no crime, but say the land belongs to them, and then cast them out of their homes like vermin. Thousands in England now beg from door to door who formerly kept honest houses. Never . . . were there so many gentlemen with so little gentleness." And Lever:³² "O merciful Lord! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie and creep, begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster." Vagabonds and caitiffs are hard words. Let another author of the time³³ tell us how these "idle beggars" can be made not only by "their owne default," but by "other men's occasion, as . . . when some covetous man . . . espieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds and tenures, dooth find such meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the same unto his private gaines. Hereupon it followeth that altho' the wise and better minded doo either forsake the realme altogether . . . complaining of no room to be left for them at home . . . yet a greater part commonlie having nothing to staie upon are wilfull, and thereupon do either proove idle beggers, or else continue starke theeves till the gallows doo eat them up, which is a lamentable thing." And those who make light of these evils, the writer can only compare to the Pope and the "divell."

The gallows was indeed well supplied; for not only thieving but also vagrancy was a capital offence. There had been Acts on the subject as early as the 23 of Edward III. and 12 of Richard II. But they were of a very different character from the Acts under the Tudors, and applied to a very different class of persons. Deprived of their possessions and means of employment these wretched outcasts by a refinement of cruelty were punished—nay, put to death—for being possessionless and unemployed. By an Act passed in 1531 able-bodied vagrants were made liable to whipping, the pillory, and having their ears

²⁹ Froude, l.c. p. 112.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 112, seq.

³¹ Apud Nasse, p. 77.

³² Apud Lingard, *Hist. of Engl.* vol. v. p. 127, note. Sixth Edition.

³³ Description of England prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, i. p. 308. Edition of 1807.

cut off.³⁴ Then the suppression of the monasteries began, and its first result³⁵ was a fresh law against vagrancy (1536). Private charity was forbidden. Sturdy beggars caught begging for the first time were to be whipped at the cart's tail; for the second time were to have their ears slit or bored through with a hot iron; for the third time were to—to suffer death as felons. I know not which is more revolting, the law itself or the odious palliation of it by Mr. Froude.³⁶ He even has words of defence³⁷ for the still more horrible Act under Edward the Sixth in 1547. "Whoever 'lived idly and loiteringly by for the space of three days' came under the description of a vagabond, and was liable to the following punishment. Two Justices of the Peace might order the letter V to be burnt on his breast, and adjudge him to serve the informer two years as his slave. His master was bound to provide him with bread, water, and refuse meat; might fix an iron ring round his neck, arm, or leg, and was authorized to compel him to 'labour at any work, however vile it might be, by beating, chaining, or otherwise.' If the slave absented himself a fortnight, the letter S was burnt on his cheek or forehead, and he became a slave for life; and if he offended a second time in like manner, his flight subjected him to the penalties of felony."³⁸ That is, he was to be put to death. This barbarous Act was repealed two years later, but still the punishment of death for vagrancy, renewed by laws of Elizabeth and James the First, was not finally abolished till the reign of Anne (12 Anne c. 23).³⁹ Truly, not in the feeble and impotent attempts to check the encroachments of the rich but in these cruel laws against the victims of oppression is to be seen the true spirit of the "Age of the Reformation." These laws were no dead letter, nor too the laws against "thieving," that is, not the plunder of the poor by the rich, but the poor taking something—perhaps taking back some fragment of their own property—from the rich. Accurate statistics are naturally wanting; yet there is nothing improbable *à priori* in the statements that under Henry the Eighth were executed 72,000 "great and small thieves," that in Elizabeth's time a year seldom passed in which from 300 to 400 vagrants were not executed;

³⁴ Froude, l.c. i. p. 70, seq.

³⁵ This is acknowledged by Froude, ii. p. 448.

³⁶ *Ibid.* i. pp. 77, 78.

³⁷ *Ibid.* v. pp. 68, 69.

³⁸ Lingard, vol. v. p. 127.

³⁹ Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Second Edition, pp. 766, 767.

that in Somersetshire in a single year, 40 persons were executed, 35 branded, 37 whipped, and that the other counties were not in a better case than Somersetshire, and many in a worse case.⁴⁰ Thus the hangman was a busy and successful agent in getting rid of one part of the ejected peasantry; while others perished of cold and hunger, and others were cut down by the soldiery, especially in the rising of 1549 and also later; for "similar disturbances were frequently repeated at a later period on a smaller scale; and even at the end of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century, insurrections of the peasants occurred in Oxfordshire, and other places in central England, in order to root out the hedges (levellers) and to restore the tillage."⁴¹

The view has often been taken that the dissolution of the monasteries was the cause of pauperism and the Poor Laws. This view has been opposed by Hallam and Froude with great warmth,⁴² so that a clear statement of the case is needful. The monasteries in the middle ages, besides being centres of religion, art, learning, and popular instruction, fulfilled two important economical functions. One of these was that as landowners they were the best of "landlords," so that their tenants had only to render moderate service or rents, were secure from inclosures and evictions, and in times of distress were not in danger of being compelled to part with their holdings, but would rather be helped to get over their difficulties. The second economical function of monasteries was to serve as houses of shelter for travellers, as hospitals for the sick, and as centres of relief for the poor. These were their functions all through the middle ages; but in the time immediately preceding the Reformation the office of relieving the poor assumed a new character and importance. The monasteries were the one source of refuge for the multitudes who had been chased out of house and home by inclosures and "expropriations"; they enabled the victims of oppression to drag on their existence, and by this existence to be living witnesses to the sin of the rich inclosers. Hallam and Froude are after all not very far from the truth. The "blind eleemosynary spirit inculcated by the Romish Church" truly enough interfered with the operation

⁴⁰ See the references to Holinshed and Strype apud Marx, p. 766, note.

⁴¹ Nasse, p. 80.

⁴² Hallam, *Constitutional Hist.* i. pp. 80—82, Seventh Edition; Froude, *Hist. of Engl.* i. p. 66, seq.; ii. pp. 448, 449.

of some of Matthus' "positive checks" to population—death by starvation or frost, truly enough "encouraged" able-bodied beggars, by opening their hospitable doors to the ejected peasantry, whose homes and means of livelihood had been seized by the rich, and enabling them to be able-bodied and to beg a little longer. Naturally with the dissolution of the monasteries this resource failed, and, moreover, the number of impotent as well as of able-bodied poor was enormously increased by the fresh evictions of the peasantry from the lands that were seized from the Church. Cold and hunger went hand in hand with busy hangmen and foreign mercenaries to clear off the "surplus population," and free the rich plunderers from the odious presence of their victims. When this work was well advanced it became possible to deal with normal and ordinary poverty; and a Poor Law, which before it would have been impossible to carry out, took the place of the old office of the monasteries. Instead of "God's poor" came parish paupers; instead of the "charity of the monasteries which relieved poverty for the love of God," came (Mr. Froude notwithstanding⁴³) the "wordly harshness of a Poor Law."⁴⁴

I have now given the main points in the history of the great wrong done to the English small proprietors and agricultural labourers under the Tudors, a wrong that preceded, accompanied, and was in close casual connection with outbreak and spread of heresy. From James the First to the later years of George the Second there was an interval between two periods of colossal robbery and cruel oppression. In the seventeenth century there still remained a numerous class of small proprietors,⁴⁵ and the yeomanry formed the strength of Cromwell's army. The labourers, also, were well off. The woes of the hapless crowd that had been driven from their homes in the sixteenth century had ended in the grave. The decline of the Flemish woollen manufactures checked further conversion of arable into pasture land. The labourers, as described

⁴³ Froude, *l.c.* ii. p. 448.

⁴⁴ Though initiatory steps were made toward compulsory relief of the poor in 27 Henry VIII. c. 25, and 1 Edward VI. c. 3, yet compulsory contributions did not properly begin till 14 Eliz. c. 5 (1572). Hallam, *l.c.* i. p. 80, note. By the famous 43 Eliz. c. 2, the principle, that each parish must support its impotent poor and find work for the able-bodied, was carried to its fullest extent.

⁴⁵ Lord Coke, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, said that the third part of England consisted of copyhold (*Nasse*, p. 93). In 1688 Gregory King estimated the freeholders as 180,000, besides 16,560 families of nobility and gentlemen, all owners of more or less land (*Westminster Review*, October, 1870, p. 238).

by Daniel Defoe, in the years preceding the Revolution of 1688, were well paid, if wages be reckoned in power of purchasing things consumed by labourers; they also had little or nothing to pay for house-rent or gardens, and above all, had still rights of common over extensive tracts, which enabled them to keep poultry and pigs, and even sheep and cattle, and where they could cut or gather wood, dig peat, cut turf, and sometimes catch fish. Thus they were not fully disinherited, not completely severed from the soil, for the commons formed their heritage.⁴⁶ The Revolution of 1688 was so far injurious to them as the laws of Settlement begun under the Stuarts (13 and 14 Charles II. 1 James II) were made more severe and effective under William the Third (3 William III. 8 and 9 William III.),⁴⁷ so that the agricultural labourers were virtually *adscripti glebæ*. The Laws of Settlement were a natural consequence of the Poor Laws, and another consequence, namely, difficulty of getting cottages, began to be felt. When we remember these points, and the absence of the many economical, social, and æsthetic (to say nothing of religious) advantages conferred by monasteries on the surrounding agricultural population, and the development after 1723 (9 George, I. c. 7) of workhouses, those centres and seedplots of vice and misery, those hideous caricatures of Catholic institutions for the poor, we cannot agree to the statement of Professor Rogers that "the mass of the people . . . had a golden age during the first half of the eighteenth (century)."⁴⁸ It was golden only in comparison with what was to follow. But before going on, let us look back to the yeomen, that is, the small peasant proprietors. The word is indeed used sometimes to express a small tenant farmer, that is, not a proprietor, but

⁴⁶ See William Thornton, *On Labour*, pp. 8-14. Second Edition. The arrant sophistry of Macaulay (*History of England*, vol. i. ch. iii. ad. fin.), whom Marx justly calls a systematic falsifier of history in the interest of the Whigs and the bourgeoisie, is well exposed, as regards the agricultural labourers, by Mr. Thornton, l. c., and as regards the premature employment of children in manufactures, by Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 272, note 120. Macaulay gives no evidence that the practice of employing young children prevailed in the seventeenth century anywhere else but in Norwich, nor that the children even there were overworked or ill-treated, nor that the mass of the English manufacturing population were not (as we know they were) far better off than when Macaulay wrote. By the convenient practices of suppressing the truth and giving as typical what is exceptional, he has an easy task to paint in rosy colours the virtues and the victories of the monied middle class.

⁴⁷ See Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, bk i. c. x. part 2. He rather exaggerates the hardships and inconvenience of these laws.

⁴⁸ Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, i. p. 10.

a leaseholder,⁴⁹ and this has given rise to confusion, and obscured the process by which the small landowners were eliminated.⁵⁰ From the Restoration onwards the yeomen (in the strict sense) appear to have progressively declined. There were no laws or customs to protect them (as in many parts of Germany they were protected) in the possession of their farms: if they might have, at least they did not make use of family settlements; and thus their lands were gradually bought up by large landowners or by wealthy traders who had risen by the great development of commerce. The Whig Revolution of 1688, by which what Mr. Seebohm calls the "commercial" as opposed to the "feudal spirit" triumphed, hastened the process. The shameful dissipation of the State domains under William, which has been called "a gigantic fraud on the nation,"⁵¹ helped in the same direction; and the place of the yeomanry was gradually taken either by large tenant farmers with long leases on what were called merchant-farms or capital-farms, or else by a servile race of tenants at will.⁵² By the accession of George the Third (1760) they were nearly gone, and their final extinction was hastened by the second grand robbery of the poor by the rich, a robbery which began under George the Second, and which I will now briefly describe.

The commons still formed (as I have said) a heritage for the agricultural labourers. In the century preceding 1845 they were gradually robbed of this last possession, and as in the sixteenth century, so now the process was by inclosures. But there were notable differences in the two processes. First, I think it can be said that in the sixteenth century the larger part of the inclosures was of arable land, that had formerly been cultivated in common; while in the eighteenth century the inclosures applied as much to pasture and waste land as to arable. In

⁴⁹ See *Fortnightly Review*, vol. vii. (New Series) p. 227, seq. Article by Seebohm.

⁵⁰ Thus Cliffe Leslie (*Land Systems of England and the Continent*, pp. 220—222), while remarking that the yeomanry were in many cases dispossessed, thinks their numbers up till the later years of the eighteenth century, were recruited by farmers, shopkeepers, and others who had grown rich. But such purchasers in no way constituted a race of peasant proprietors.

⁵¹ F. W. Newman, *Lectures on Political Economy*. London, 1851, pp. 129, 130, apud Marx, *Das Kapital*, p. 753. Second Edition.

⁵² See Marx, l.c. pp. 752—754, with references to sources. Leases for life or years (as distinct from a perpetual lease at a quit-rent) were, I need hardly say, known long before this time. Dismissing Anglo-Saxon leases, it can be said that they were first important in the sixteenth century. Many farmers with long leases made fortunes by the depreciation of the precious metals in that century. (See Marx, p. 774.) But the full development of tenant-farming was not till the eighteenth century.

connection with this is the further difference that the inclosures of the second period, far from causing diminution of agricultural produce or depopulation, were accompanied by an extraordinary increase of produce and population. A third difference, as Marx bitterly observes, is that whereas in the first period the inclosures were deeds of violence opposed by the law (though ineffectually), in the second period the law itself was made the vehicle for plundering.⁵³ The legal process was in the form of private Acts of Parliament—Bills for Inclosure of Commons; and here the rich had it all their own way: for the poor, by their very poverty, could not come to London, fee counsel, procure witnesses, and urge their claims before the parliamentary committee sitting on private bills. Thus in nineteen cases out of twenty the rights of the poor were neglected.⁵⁴ Such was the method of plunder. The amount of the spoil from the accession of George the Second to the year 1845 can be roughly estimated at about seven million acres, that is, nearly one-third of the cultivated area of England and Wales.

Let us look at the results, and begin with a last glance at the yeomanry. Many depended on their rights of common for carrying on their husbandry, and by the loss of these rights without adequate indemnity were ruined and forced to sell. In the case when arable land was inclosed, they would not receive a fair share as their portion, or a fair compensation for the loss of common on stubble and fallow, and in all cases would be injured by the heavy expenses of the private Act of Parliament. And at this very time they suffered from the growth of factories and the progress of machinery, so that they could no longer eke out a living by domestic industries. Thus they were forced to sell their lands, and these were bought up by men of the commercial class or large landholders, while the yeomen emigrated, or became tenant farmers—generally tenants at will, or engaged in trade or manufactures, or sank to be mere hired workmen. In certain localities, especially the east of England, the scenes of the sixteenth century were in a way renewed, and tracts once populous with small farms and small holdings were turned into lonely pastures.⁵⁵ So ended the English yeomanry.⁵⁶

⁵³ Marx, *l.c.* p. 753.

⁵⁴ Speech of Lord Lincoln. Hansard, 1 May, 1845. Nasse, p. 94.

⁵⁵ Marx, *l.c.* pp. 755—757.

⁵⁶ In some few spots, especially in the secluded valleys of Cumberland and Westmoreland, the yeomanry lingered for years after they had elsewhere disappeared. But in the present century they too have almost all had to yield to the "commercial spirit." See Keble, *The Agricultural Labourer*, p. 191, seq.

Now let us look at the labourers, the great mass of the agricultural population. And here is a striking analogy with the case of the manufacturing population. The wonderful inventions between 1770 and 1830, which revolutionized industry and enormously increased the national wealth, did not hinder, but rather helped on the progressive misery and degradation of the manufacturing workmen. So in agriculture an unparalleled technical development was of no benefit to the mass of the agricultural labourers. The substitution of a green crop for fallow between successive corn crops, a practice that became prevalent in the middle of the eighteenth century, has been compared to the introduction of the steam-engine and the spinning-frame; and about that time an immense improvement in cattle-breeding was effected by Bakewell and Culley.⁵⁷ The inclosures, too, in the main, unlike those of the sixteenth century, increased many fold the value of the inclosed land. But what did all this profit the tillers of the soil! Between 1737 and 1777 agricultural wages sunk nearly twenty-five per cent. In 1770-1771 average wages, expressed in pints of wheat, were ninety pints, in Eden's time (1795) only sixty-five, in 1808 only sixty.⁵⁸ In 1795 a Berkshire rector wrote: "Cottages have been progressively deprived of the little land formerly let with them, and also their rights of commonage have been swallowed up in large farms by inclosures. Thus an amazing number of people have been reduced from a comfortable state of partial independence to a precarious state as mere hirelings, who, when out of work, come immediately upon the parish."⁵⁹ The loss of the commons was indeed the loss of all that could maintain the labourers in independence.⁶⁰ They fell into the hands of the landowners

⁵⁷ *Edinburgh Review*, lxii. p. 319, seq.

⁵⁸ Marx, l.c. pp. 702, 703, with the references.

⁵⁹ Apud Fawcett, *Pauperism*, c. vii. p. 248.

⁶⁰ Mr. Keble, a friend to the parson and the squire, admits the decline of wages and the disastrous loss of rights of common in the period under consideration (l.c. pp. 40-41, 64). Professor Rogers laments that "within the times of our fathers they (the mass of the people) have been depressed again, and the peasant has again become a serf" (*History of Agriculture and Prices*, i. p. 10. Cf. pp. 691-694). The sophist Macaulay, as is natural, conceals the cruel injustice and disastrous results of inclosures. After speaking of the rights of pasture, cutting wood, and the like, formerly enjoyed by the labourer, he says: "The progress of agriculture and the increase of population necessarily deprived him of these privileges" (*History of England*, i. c. iii. ad fin). The unfortunate rich landowners then ought to receive our pity, as being forced by an iron fate to take to themselves the peasants' property! As compensation to the labourer, Macaulay gives the improvements in the roads, so that a rustic with his cart can now reach the market in an hour instead of a day. But not to speak of the

and farmers, and their wages were reduced to the minimum, or rather below it, the necessary difference being made up by the parish.⁶¹ The development of outdoor relief after 1782, and the abolition in 1795 of restrictions to locomotion (through settlements), are significant steps. Statesmen and manufacturers were eager for a larger population, and the landowners were not averse, especially since the danger of an increase in the holders of rights of common was met by inclosures, or by the ingenious practice of many farmers to forbid their cottagers to keep any sort of live stock.⁶² The technical improvements in agriculture gave the means of feeding an increased number of workmen, whose labour, paid with minimum wages, was a fertile source of wealth to their employers. And there was no difficulty in securing an increase of population. For by the wholesale employment of women and children in agriculture, mines, and manufactures, and also by the system of supplementing "insufficient" wages out of the poor rates, a man with a wife and family was no more destitute or dependant than one who was single and childless, so that there were no counter inclinations to balance the inclination to marriage. The system worked well; population and "national wealth" grew apace; and while the mass of the people were growing more wretched, there was a rapid accumulation of fortune by landed proprietors, farmers, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, stock-jobbers, army contractors (during the great war), and the like,⁶³ an accumulation based on the systematic appropriation of a great part of the just wages of the labourers.⁶⁴

manifest exaggeration of this improvement, how could it benefit the mass of the labourers who had no carts, and whom the inclosures had deprived of everything (such as milk, butter, eggs, or poultry) which they could put into a cart, if they had one? And then he goes off to the better lighting and other modern advantages in towns, as though this could be any set-off to the agricultural labourers for the loss of their rights of common, and as though even to the town labourers the cheapness of materials for lighting, instead of being a blessing, was (when Macaulay wrote) rather a curse, as it robbed them of the protection of darkness, and enabled work to be done in the night.

⁶¹ On this practice see Marx, *l.c.* pp. 625, 626.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 754, n. 203.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 703.

⁶⁴ The absurd view of Mill and many others (setting all rules of logic, inductive or deductive, at defiance) that the low wages of the early part of this century in England were due to over-population, can be refuted in one way among many by comparing wages, population, and national wealth in (say) 1730 and 1830. In 1830 the wealth, compared to the population, was far greater than in 1730, but the (real) wages far less.

In the country there remained one step more to complete the degradation of the labourers. The numerous tenants at will who had increased so much with the fall of the yeomen, were a class very little raised above the labourers whom they employed, and who lodged with them and ate at their table. They lived in the plainest style and rudest fashion, were glad to get situations for their daughters in the house of their landlord, and regarded the squire's footman as their superior.⁶⁵ This was at the beginning of the century; but in the course of years this class was displaced by or rose into another class of a very different character, with well-bred hunters, smart gigs, daughters at the piano instead of the milking-pail, and the equal of the lawyer, parson, and doctor.⁶⁶ And what was the effect of this change upon the labourers? "The polite couple," says Mr. Keble (treating of the overcrowding of rural cottages), "who drink claret, read the magazines, and dress like the gentry, find the old system of boarding and lodging their unmarried workmen an unmitigated nuisance, and would as soon think of sitting down to dinner with them . . . as of riding to market on horseback one behind the other. The result, of course, has been that single men and lads, expelled from the farmhouse, have been driven perforce into the cottage."⁶⁷ The dreadful overcrowding and immorality that was the result, I shall speak of shortly. Here rather is to be noticed that a large body of the agricultural labourers, who had before been part of the household of the farmers, were now changed into unattached labourers hired for short periods. This transformation was conspicuous in the third decade of this century.⁶⁸

It was too much to be borne. Plundered and oppressed, the labourers rose to take vengeance, not on the persons, but on the property of their plunderers and oppressors. As they had risen in 1549 against the spring-tide of Protestantism, so in 1830 they rose against the spring-tide of Liberalism. "Night after night new conflagrations were lighted up by bands of incendiaries: corn-stacks, barns, farm buildings, live stock, were consumed indiscriminately . . . all thrashing machines in particular were condemned. . . . Threatening letters were circulated, demanding

⁶⁵ For these and other details, see George Mitchell, *The Skeleton at the Plough*, p. 14. Also Roscher, *Ackerbau*, § 64, 65. The existence of small tenants at will has been artificially prolonged by the Chandos Clause of the first Reform Bill, giving votes even to tenants at will if their rent was £50 or more.

⁶⁶ Mitchell, *l.c.* p. 13; Roscher, *l.c.*

⁶⁷ Keble, *The Agricultural Labourer*, p. 53.

⁶⁸ Roscher, *Nationalökonomie*, § 76.

the raising of wages or the disuse of machinery."⁶⁹ In Kent, Hants, Wilts, Bucks, Sussex and Surrey "all protection for property seemed at an end. Bands of rioters pillaged and destroyed during the day; and so soon as night fell, simultaneous conflagrations, starting up in different quarters, spread over the country havoc and dismay."⁷⁰ But as in 1549, so now, the soldier and the hangman soon put down the attacks on the sacred rights of (rich men's) property. The "mobs of the peasantry" were shot down by the country gentlemen and the military,⁷¹ while several special commissions were issued by the Government for trying those arrested for incendiary acts or destroying thrashing machines. At Winchester two hundred and seventy prisoners were tried before a commission; fourteen were sentenced to death. "At the Maidstone Assize on the 17th instant (December, 1830), H. Packman, W. Packman, and J. Dyke were convicted of arson, and were executed on Penenden Heath on the 24th. The two latter were boys about eighteen or nineteen years old, and looked much younger. Dyke invariably protested his innocence after his conviction."⁷² It is well to remember that the jury in all such trials were taken, not from workmen, but exclusively from the class of employers, and the judge himself would be certainly a man of property, and perhaps a great landowner whose farm had been burnt. The King's speech at the opening of Parliament was a repulsive specimen of Liberal cant. He spoke of his grief and indignation, of the wicked incendiaries, of his exerting his power to the utmost, of a prompt suppression, of our happy form of Government, of Divine Providence, of the country possessing a greater share of prosperity, true liberty, and all that constitutes social happiness than had fallen to the lot of any other country in the world.⁷³ And this was England in 1830, when not merely one district or one trade, but the great majority both of the manufacturing and of the agricultural population were in a state of misery and degradation greater than can be described. But the good King was not far wrong. For of course "the country" must be taken to mean, not "mobs" of peasantry, factory "hands," and such like, but only the respect-

⁶⁹ *Annual Register*, 1830, i. pp. 149, 150

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ See a characteristic example in *Annual Register*, 1830, ii. pp. 199, 200.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 201. Cf. pp. 141, 142, for account of the Anti-Inclosures Riot, and *Id.* 1831, ii. pp. 1-7, 44. Also pp. 95-102 for the trial of William Cobbett for sedition.

⁷³ *Ibid.* i. p. 152.

able classes, especially manufacturers and landowners, for whom England in 1830 was indeed a paradise of "social happiness," and who enjoyed the "true liberty" of robbing and oppressing at pleasure the workmen by whose toil they were able to keep wealthy and respectable.

The revolt of the peasantry was indeed promptly suppressed; and the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) was a further means in the hands of the landowners for suppressing insubordination. All peasant joy and peasant culture was crushed out, and the agricultural population lay helpless for forty years, overworked, underpaid, ill-fed, ill-housed, and sunk in lamentable ignorance, brutality, and immorality. In 1845 a tardy measure of justice was adopted by the Inclosure Act, putting an end to the abuse of private Bills of Inclosure, and intended to secure to the poor, whenever land was inclosed, certain allotments for cultivation, and a certain area for recreation. But between 1845 and 1869 (in which year a check was put to inclosures), although injury and injustice to the poor was less than in the period before, they were yet very great. Not one-half per cent. of six hundred thousand acres inclosed in those twenty-three years was allotted to the poor, and the money compensation given them, even if adequate on the principle of commercial valuation, was really no true compensation; it could be squandered in a day, was a temptation to drink, and was a benefit rather to the publican and brewer than to the labourer; whereas rights of common could not be lost in a moment of distress, or weakness, or passion.⁷⁴ Another measure of wisdom and justice, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, was also of no avail to raise up the rural population. Agriculture took a fresh start with new manures, new plants, machinery and drainage.⁷⁵ The landowners and large speculative farmers grew more rich and more luxurious. Mr. Gladstone, in his famous speech of April 16, 1863, introducing the Budget, described the increase of the taxable income of the country "so astonishing as almost to be incredible," an "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power."⁷⁶ But this augmentation did not extend to the agricultural labourers, who all the while lay in degradation and misery, and, if anything, were sinking lower, in some places through inclosures, in the

⁷⁴ On inclosures since 1845, see Fawcett, *Pauperism*, c. vii. Kebble, l.c. p. 65.

⁷⁵ Marx, p. 706.

⁷⁶ On this speech and another, 7th April, 1864, see Marx, pp. 678—680.

eastern counties through the increase of the gang system, and in general through the progressive diminution of house room.

It is time to give some details as to the state of the rural population, for to speak vaguely of degradation and misery brings no conviction and leaves no impression. Let us, then, look at the agricultural labourers of England as they were a very few years ago. The sources of information are various, Blue Books especially, the reports of the Children's Employment Commission (appointed 1863), and those on public health. I shall also often cite Mr. Keble, who has made use of these reports and of private information, and is more inclined to underrate than to exaggerate the bad state of the rural population.

In the north the agricultural labourers were found to be well fed, though badly lodged. Their wages, whether or not they reached the fair price of labour, were at least enough to support them in tolerable comfort. But in the south and west it was very different. "In the year 1863 the Privy Council directed a medical inquiry to be made into the food of the poorer classes in England, and Mr. Simon, the gentleman appointed to conduct the inquiry, found, upon actual examination, a very alarming deficiency. The standard adopted was that obtained from experience during the Lancashire cotton famine, under the influence of which 'starvation diseases,' as they are called, were proved to supervene. This standard, in the case of a man, was four thousand three hundred grains of carbon and two hundred grains of nitrogen. Now, as regards the agricultural population, it was found that more than one-fifth had less than the estimated bare sufficiency of carbonaceous food, and that more than one-third had less than the estimated bare sufficiency of nitrogenous food, and that in the three purely agricultural counties, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, insufficiency of nitrogenous food was the average diet."⁷⁷ Mr. Tremenhare, one of the commissioners of 1867, and by no means inclined to exaggerate on the gloomy side, thought that in quite half our agricultural families the man was not in receipt of wages at once permanent and adequate.⁷⁸ As to actual money wages there is great difficulty in reaching any correct average. This is caused by the singular variety of wages in different localities, and by frequent payments in kind. Mr. Keble gives as the average in the counties visited

⁷⁷ *Westminster Review*, October, 1870, p. 236. *Public Health*, Sixth Report, 1863, especially pp. 237, 238.

⁷⁸ Keble, *The Agricultural Labourer*, p. 18.

by the Commissioners in 1867 from 11s. to 15s. a week.⁷⁹ Supplemented by the wages of the wife and children, this would reach about 20s. Two accounts of wages, one paid in Hampshire between 1845 and 1867, the other in Suffolk between 1846 and 1870, give wages fluctuating in the first case between 8s. and 11s. with scarce any tendency to rise, in the second case between 8s. 6d. and 11s. with no tendency to rise at all.⁸⁰ And yet during this period the price of milk, eggs, butter, and meat had greatly risen. The sum of this evidence is that, except in the north, the agricultural labourers were in most cases receiving wages, including those of their wives and children, only sufficient to supply the necessaries of life, and sometimes not even that.⁸¹ Can any one say that this was a fair price for their labour, or that they were not the victims of unjust extortion? Mr. Kebble, indeed, has an apology. He cites with approval Mr. Boyle, an assistant commissioner, who says that all would like to see wages raised, but farmers cannot do it because of the rise of rent. "It is equally difficult to expect the landlord to lower his rent in the face of a rapidly increasing demand for land, and to expect the occupier to raise wages in the face of an increasing demand for rent."⁸² But this apology is merely the truism that it is "difficult to expect" the love of justice to be a match for the love of money. Further on Mr. Kebble tells us that "if a larger share of the produce of the soil than he at present enjoys is to be awarded to the peasant, it must be taken from somebody else; and it is perfectly absurd to say this ought to be the landlord." But as we have seen it cannot be taken from the farmers, *ergo*, it cannot be taken from anyone, and the labourer must wait till his wages rise, as Mr. Kebble foretells, by the "demand for labour" reaching a "permanent level;" while as to legislation on this subject, it is "contrary to all our ideas," and so on.⁸³ This style of argumentation is singularly like that of the manufacturers forty years ago against the Factory Acts, and is not likely to increase respect for the rights of property.

One evil often produces another, and the second reacts upon

⁷⁹ Kebble, l.c. p. 29.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 35, 36.

⁸¹ Mr. Mitchell reckons at £1. 1s. 0d. the weekly subsistence of a labourer with a wife and four children. A glance at the items he gives will show that they include nothing that can be called "luxuries," as opposed to necessities. See *Times*, October 16, 1874. The letter is reprinted in the *Skeleton at the Plough*, p. 148, seq.

⁸² Kebble, l.c. pp. 20, 21.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 23.

the first. "The lowness of wages," says Mr. Boyle, "is the most usual reason assigned for the necessity of female and juvenile labour."⁸⁴ Almost all the Commissioners were agreed that field work as a rule had a bad influence on the health and morality of very young children and women, and this quite independently of the special evils of the gang system, which I will presently speak of. Mr. Lucas, schoolmaster of Wivelscombe, speaks of female field labour and its effects as follows: "They lose their delicacy, which is followed by a loss of chastity; young lads become old in immorality; of all employment it is the worst for the union of the sexes. It undermines the health of the mother of a family. . . . It hardens the finer feelings of the women, they neglect home duties, their children roam . . . uncared for . . . besides the detriment to the younger from bad nursing and long hours without food."⁸⁵ The Rev. R. Lambert, curate of Wells, said that in his parish of two thousand, he believed five out of eight children were illegitimate, which he put entirely on female agricultural labour.⁸⁶ The Rev. A. Burney, curate of Gaer Hill, said that nearly all the women in the parish worked in the fields more or less, that they became thoroughly degraded, working with the men, and often doing a man's work; that meanwhile their families and homes went to ruin.⁸⁷ As to the employment of children, the recommendations of the Commissioners that girls under sixteen should not be employed at all in agriculture, nor boys under ten, and that boys between ten and fourteen should not work more than ten hours a day, and that restrictions be put upon their working on Sundays, are a significant indication of prevailing abuses. The employment of very young children for bird scaring is a frequent cruelty. "Bird scaring, to be effective, requires the presence of the poor little human scarecrow almost as soon as it is light, and almost till it grows dusk . . . it is fatiguing work if it is efficiently performed. The watcher has to be always on his legs . . . the constant shouting . . . is no slight addition to his labour. . . . This kind of labour involves exposure to cold cutting winds . . . cannot very well be dispensed with on Sundays."⁸⁸ Also, "ploughing, harrowing,

⁸⁴ Keble, l.c. p. 20.

⁸⁵ Apud Mitchell, *The Skeleton at the Plough*, p. 66.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 70.

⁸⁸ Keble, l.c. pp. 16, 17. Mr. Mitchell (l.c. p. 46, note) hereon remarks, with more truth than politeness: "Little boys and girls are thus shown to be kept all day long from dawn to dark, alone, in the wide fields in all weathers and all seasons, to

and the like, are very hard work for little boys, while the stable work, night and morning, makes their day very often extend to twelve or thirteen hours."⁸⁰

Low wages, insufficient food, employment of women in field work, with the consequent immorality and injury to the family, premature employment and overworking of children—all these evils are accompanied by another, perhaps the worst of all, the want of decent homes. I will give extracts from Mr. Simon's *résumé* of Dr. Hunter's well-known report:⁸⁰ "To the insufficient quantity and miserable quality of the house accommodation generally had by our agricultural labourers, almost every page of Dr. Hunter's report bears testimony. And gradually for many years past the state of the labourer in these respects has been deteriorating. . . . Especially within the last twenty or thirty years the evil has been in very rapid increase." He then shows the effect of settlement and chargeability under the poor laws, so that when a whole parish is in the hands of a few owners, they pull down cottages and drive away the population. "When the process of depopulation has completed itself, the result is a show village where the cottages have been reduced to a few, and where none but persons who are needed, as shepherds, gardeners, or gamekeepers are allowed to live . . . regular servants who receive the good treatment usual to their class. But the land requires cultivation, and it will be found that the labourers employed upon it are not the tenants of the owner, but that they come from a neighbouring *open* village, perhaps three miles off, where a numerous small proprietary received them, when their cottages were destroyed in the *close* villages around." This arrangement causes a six or eight mile walk to be added to the daily toil of the peasant. And what is the accommodation that he gets even here? "In the open villages cottage speculators buy scraps of land, which they throng as densely as they can with the cheapest of all possible hovels . . . which have some of the worst features of the worst town residences." And even when the labourers are housed upon the lands which they cultivate, their cottages are in most cases little better than those in the open villages. The Report

earn a shilling or two a week to eke out the starvation wages paid to their strong, able-bodied fathers, whose unceasing toil is used to maintain landlords, parsons, and gentlemen farmers in grandeur, and not his own poor little children."

⁸⁰ Kebble, p. 17.

⁸⁰ *Seventh Report on Public Health*, 1865, pp. 9—15. Dr. Hunter's report is to be found pp. 126—148.

does full justice to the good accommodation on the estates of several landed proprietors, but marks that these cases are altogether exceptional. "Lamentable indeed must be the case, when . . . even the general badness of dwellings is an evil infinitely less urgent than their mere numerical insufficiency." Between 1851 and 1861, a positive decrease of house room was found in eight hundred and twenty-one parishes and townships, though the population had slightly increased. The reporter, after speaking of the bad physical effects of overcrowding—the injury to health and the spread of infectious diseases—speaks of the moral effects. "A young woman of nineteen having fever, lay in a room occupied at night by her father and mother, her bastard child, two young men (her brothers), and her two sisters, each with a bastard child—ten persons in all. A few weeks ago thirteen persons slept in it." I will not weary my readers with these revolting details, which are to be found in abundance in the Blue Books.⁹¹ The evil was of old standing, periodically exposed by the press and by Royal Commissions. But each time after a brief period of excitement and horror, the matter has dropped out of notice and the evil gone on as before.⁹² The Union Chargeability Act of 1865 is supposed to have removed the principle motive prompting the village ratepayer to pull down cottages,⁹³ but it has not gone to the root of the evil. The plain fact is, that for the labourers to have more house room some one must pay; but the labourers themselves could not, the farmers or landlords would not. Mr. Keble well recognizes that wages are in general too low to allow paying rent that will be a "remunerative return" for building cottages; and also that where wages are low, and single farm labourers are not lodged at the farm, overcrowding is likely to arise through the practice (most difficult to check) of taking in lodgers.⁹⁴

Another evil, the spread of drunkenness, has been greatly fostered by the wretchedness of the labourers' dwellings, driving them to seek comfort in the beer-shop. The practice in several western counties to pay a portion of wages in cider has been

⁹¹ A London detective said of the girls of his village: "Their gross immorality at an early age, their boldness and shamelessness, I have never seen equalled during my police life in the worst parts of London" (*Child. Empl. Comm.* Sixth Report, 1867, p. 77).

⁹² *Westminster Review*, October, 1870, p. 238.

⁹³ Keble, l.c. p. 225.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 44, 53.

injurious to sobriety, as also the multiplication of beer-shops since the new excise licences introduced in 1863, and the disuse of the old habit of each family brewing at home.⁹⁵ And so Mr. Kebble has to say of the agricultural labourers: "The idea of drink is interwoven with every action of their lives, and follows them from their cradle to their grave like a religion."⁹⁶

Now let us glance at the gang system, an evil peculiar to the eastern counties, being almost confined to the six counties, Lincolnshire, Hunts, Notts, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. I will keep as far as possible to the words of the Commissioners, who described the system in 1867.⁹⁷ The public gang consists of from ten to forty persons, generally about twenty, composed mainly of women, children, and young persons (between thirteen and eighteen) of both sexes. Males above eighteen are not frequent. They are all under a gang-master, that is, an independent man, who engages the members of his gang, and contracts with the farmer to execute a certain kind and amount of agricultural work with his gang. A private gang is similarly composed, only usually smaller, and in the farmer's direct employ, superintended by one of the farmer's own labourers. The members of the gangs live in "open" villages, frequently many miles from where they work. The system is nowhere older than sixty years, in many cases only thirty years. Its causes were, first, the pulling down of cottages in the "close" parishes to avoid poor rates, thus driving the agricultural population into distant villages or towns; second, the formation, by the inclosure of wild land or otherwise, of large farms without providing an adequate number of cottages to contain work people required for the farm. A few, who are called "confined" labourers, live at the farms, and are mostly hired for the year, while all the light work is done by gangs. The public gang-masters are usually described as men whom the farmers are not willing to have in their regular employ, in most cases men of indolent and drinking habits, and in some cases men of notorious depravity. As a rule they are unfit for their office, and their influence is represented as very pernicious to the moral principles and conduct of the children and young persons of both sexes under their management. The excessive labour of the gang is the chief source of the gang-master's profits, so that the members of the gang, especially the children,

⁹⁵ Kebble, l.c. pp. 138, seq. 146.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 152.

⁹⁷ *Children's Employment Commission*. Sixth Report, 1867, pp. v. vi. xi.—xiii.

are often subject to overwork and other hardships. Occasionally the children suffer personal ill treatment. The physical effects of having to work to the utmost of their strength, and also having to walk long distances to and from their work is spoken of as most injurious to the members of the gang, especially to the girls. Sometimes they have to walk as much as sixteen miles a day, frequently ten or twelve; and this for children of six or seven years old. "You see the big ones come dragging the little ones home, and sometimes taking them on their backs when they are overtired." But the most striking characteristic of the gangs is the appalling moral depravity of their members. The intermixture of the sexes, the absence of all control, the fact that in each gang is a nucleus of characters—male and female—already utterly depraved, and a source of corruption for the rest, are the causes given. The testimony is universal as to the foul language habitually used and applauded, and actions corresponding to the language. "On asking the best and most respectable mothers what they thought of the mixed system (sexes working together), no language could express their detestation."⁹⁸ The odious details must naturally be passed over; I will only remark the dreadful feature that many respectable parents, knowing the evils of the gangs, are compelled for want of bread to send their children into them. As to the private gangs of which the number is much greater than that of public gangs, the treatment of the young is generally as bad, and occasionally worse; when the sexes are mixed, as is almost always the case, the results are quite as demoralizing; and the superintendant of a private gang is often less capable of exercising control than a regular gang-master.⁹⁹ In 1867, the date of the report, the number of women, children, and young persons employed in gangs was perhaps nearly eighty thousand."¹⁰⁰

I cannot conclude this review of the state of the agricultural population better than by giving the words of the Rev. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne hereon. He writes: "Sad and lengthened experience has convinced me that the producer of bread by the sweat of his brow . . . can be placed in no worse

⁹⁸ *Children's Employment Commission*, Sixth Report, 1867, p. 19.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. xxiii.

¹⁰⁰ The number of those employed in public gangs was estimated at about seven thousand, and of those in private gangs at about ten times that number. Besides the six counties named above, Cumberland was found by Mr. Tremenheere to be a seat of the public gang system (Kebble, l.c. p. 3).

position than he is at home—in merry England, Christian [Protestant] England, England the nursery of industry, the very hotbed of [spurious] philanthropy. Late, very late experience, knowledge acquired far and near, from those in whom I can put trust, facts of which I am cognizant from sources which defy contradiction, all prove to me that in hundreds of our villages the social condition of man is below that of any country of which I have ever read."¹⁰¹

In agriculture then, as in manufactures, we have found *à posteriori* confirmation of the conclusion reached in the first paper *à priori*, and a dreadful experience has shown that in the contract between the labourer and the enterprizer, in agriculture no less than manufactures, the conditions for competition are absent. It is true that in the genesis of the rural as well as of the urban proletariat competition has had potent auxiliaries, and the plunder and oppression of weaker foreign races by English traders and captains have had their counterpart in the legal or illegal robberies of the agricultural population at home by English landlords. Still, the great cause both of the wretchedness of the rural labourers as I have described it in the seventh decade of this century, and of the urban labourers as I have described it in the fourth decade, was the presence of competition where the requisites for its fitness were absent, so that where some authority should have regulated the amount of wages, and the conditions of labour, all was left to the individual parties, and no check was put on freedom of contract.

But now comes the natural inquiry whether legislation and combination, the two great forces which have done so much to raise the manufacturing population from wretchedness, have not done the same for the agricultural population. Unhappily there is a sad contrast here; and instead of having to record the benefits of factory laws and the victories of trades' unions extending through a long course of years, I have but to say that legislation and combination have begun to act, though as yet with little effect. In 1867 a law was passed to check some of the abuses of the public gang system.¹⁰² In 1869 a check was put to inclosures; but this was too late to be of much service to the agricultural labourers, and was chiefly beneficial as preserving

¹⁰¹ Letter to the *Times*, by S.C.O. apud *Westminster Review*, October, 1870, p. 238.

¹⁰² The gangmaster must have a certificate of fitness; the sexes must be kept separate, and children under a certain age must not be employed.

open spaces near large towns. Further, some protection has been given to agricultural children by the Education Acts. Still, little or nothing has been done by law to check the abuses of the private gang system, or the employment of women, or the lowness of wages, or the dreadful want of house room. As to trades' unions, they were without existence among the agricultural labourers till the famous meeting at Wellsbourne Green, in Warwickshire, on Ash Wednesday 1872, when a trades' union was formed under Mr. Arch; and this rapidly grew to be the National Agricultural Labourers' Union. Time enough has not yet elapsed to enable us to form a fit judgment as to this institution. It is said to have raised wages in many parts as much as two or three shillings a week, and the violent opposition it has met with farmers and landlords, culminating in the lock out of 1874, seem to indicate its importance. But the scattered condition of rural labourers, and the diversity of local circumstances, throw great difficulties in the way of effectual combination as well as of effectual protection by the law. And thus, whether the rural labourers are on the way to have their most pressing wrongs removed, and on the way to receive some approximation to their fair rate of wages, we cannot yet judge.

But is nothing to be done, it may be asked, to restore the land to the "people," that is, to form a class of peasant proprietors? This compels me to speak of the inconsistency and misapprehensions of many English writers on the "Land Question,"¹⁰³ who extol the benefits of peasant proprietorship, and bitterly contrast its presence on the Continent with its absence in England; but have no praise for small industry, and draw no comparison between the small handicraftsmen of Germany and elsewhere, and the great mill and factory owners of England.¹⁰⁴ And this inconsistency is matched by the almost grotesque view as to the causes of the disappearance of the yeomanry and the means for their restoration. Thus Professor Rogers says, "We owe the fact that the great English nation is tenant at will to a few thousand landowners, to that device of evil times, a strict settlement. We are informed that

¹⁰³ Not merely writers like Mill, Fawcett, and John Bright, but those who have some acquaintance with history, as Rogers, and even Cliffe Leslie, go astray on this point.

¹⁰⁴ Karl Marx, with his keen criticism, has naturally noted this inconsistency (*Das Kapital*, p. 780, note 237), which is all the greater because the introduction of *la grande industrie* is a potent agent in introducing *la grande culture*, especially where the peasant proprietors have before supported themselves partly on domestic industry.

the machinery which has gradually changed the whole character of the rural population in England was invented by the subtlety of two lawyers of the Restoration, Palmer and Bridgman."¹⁰⁵ And the Professor is aghast at the malignant influence of these men, and the alienation of England's people from the soil, and the future exodus of a disinherited peasantry. And the remedy is to be sought in a system of cheap conveyancing, in the abolition of family settlements, and in the consequent free circulation of land—in the so-called free trade in land. But this view is marvellously incorrect. Let Palmer and Bridgman rest undisturbed in their graves; for all history, whether ancient, mediæval, or modern, proves that not the fixedness but the mobility of landed property is ruinous to peasant proprietors.¹⁰⁶ How significant that just before the first great eviction of the English peasantry the old strict entails were evaded by the introduction of fines and recoveries, and that a vast amount of land had changed hands through the Wars of the Roses; and again, that during the height of the evictions great legal facilities were given for leasing land. How significant that the reform of the law of real property in the reign of William the Fourth and the early years of Victoria, has been powerless to help the agricultural labourer, or check the decline of the few remnants of yeomanry existing here and there (as in Cumberland). How significant that in Ireland, the Encumbered Estates Act, which Mill so loudly praised, and which caused much land to pass from old families to new speculative purchasers, has been the source of cruel suffering to the Irish peasantry.¹⁰⁷ It was the absence of competition—the absence of the commercial spirit, that preserved the continental peasant proprietors;¹⁰⁸ while those in England have disappeared, not because the property of the rich has been entailed, but because their own property has not been entailed. Idle then is the expectation that our yeomanry can be restored by increasing the mobility of landed property (whether or not such a change

¹⁰⁵ Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*. He is here the echo of many "advanced" liberals.

¹⁰⁶ To work out this thesis would require an entire paper. Here I can but refer to the stores of information in Roscher's *Ackerbau*, especially the eighth and eleventh chapters.

¹⁰⁷ See the *North British Review*, li. p. 480, seq.

¹⁰⁸ On the disappearance in France, when rich capitalists live near, of *la petite propriété*, and to a certain extent of *la petite culture*, with the consequent growth of tenant farmers and an agricultural proletariat, see Le Play, *La Réforme Sociale*, c. xxxiv. 11.

be on other grounds desirable);¹⁰⁹ idle, too, and pernicious, are socialistic and revolutionary schemes of expropriation or confiscation, so that the Government may bestow lands on the agricultural labourers.¹¹⁰ If our yeomanry are to be restored, and when restored to be preserved, the aid of the Church must be called in. Were the laws against mortmain repealed, and a large portion of the country to come into the hands of the Church, it would be an easy and natural course to cover these lands with small hereditary tenants holding their land on a tenure akin to the Roman *emphytensis*, unable to mortgage or alienate, or partition, or merge their holding with another, or leave it uncultivated, or cease to live on it; but also, as long as they paid a trifling quit-rent, secure from eviction, and thus virtually peasant proprietors; moreover, having at their side, in those times of distress which are sure to come periodically, a friendly helper in the bishop or abbot, instead of relentless creditors, or grasping usurers, or rich purchasers, eager to take advantage of the opportunity. If all this be an idle dream, then the restoration of peasant proprietors in England is an idle dream also.¹¹¹

Brief and imperfect as is the sketch I have given of the history of our agricultural population from the fifteenth century to the present time, I think I have made clear on which side should be the sympathy of Catholics in the present struggle between labour and capital in agriculture. The case is even stronger than in manufacture and mining. Each successive wrong done to the peasantry—whether to labourers for hire

¹⁰⁹ Mr. Seebohm (*Fortnightly Review*. New Series, vol. vii. p. 230, seq.) takes a much truer view, and marks how it is the commercial and not the feudal spirit which has worked against peasant properties. He errs in ignoring the shameful deeds by which the operations of the commercial spirit have been aided. The unfitness of England for the cultivation of such plants as the vine or the olive, for which small farms have an advantage, make it hopeless to expect that with complete "free trade in land," peasant proprietors will be generated. On the wretched state of those in the fertile fen district of Lincolnshire, see Keble, the *Agricultural Labourer*, pp. 196—198. Cf. p. 58.

¹¹⁰ A scheme of this kind, recommended in the *Westminster Review*, October, 1870, has been justly and severely criticised by Mr. Seebohm in the *Fortnightly Review*. New Series, vol. ix. p. 130, seq.

¹¹¹ Professor Roscher says that we can scarcely think of a better means of restoring a race of peasant proprietors than granting land on the tenure I have described to tried agricultural labourers (*Ackerbau*, § 70). Only, as becomes a Protestant and a North German, he would have the State be the granter of these perpetual leases (L.c. § 149). But, not to speak of many other objections, the substitution of the State for the Church implies forced expropriation instead of free donation to found the system, and the absence in working it of the invaluable action of local resident patrons.

or to small proprietors—has been a violation of Catholic principles. Long ago the prophet cried out: Woe to them that join house to house and lay field to field, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth,¹¹² and the voice of the prophet has been echoed by the Church. In the sixteenth century the monks and nuns were robbed by the same plunderers who robbed the peasantry, and the common people of England lost lands and faith together. All that the poor, too, have suffered from the poor laws, has been suffered because Catholic teaching as to riches and almsgiving has been set at naught. And as to present times, I can refer to what I have said at the end of the second paper as applicable here. Two out of the ten demands with which Mr. Mitchell, "One from the Plough," concludes his pamphlet,¹¹³ namely, a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, and decent homes for farm labourers, are only asking what Catholic morality commands to give. His ninth demand for allotments of land, can only be met (if socialism be put aside) by the Church regaining her lost lands. His sixth demand for compulsory tenant-right is certainly in no opposition to Catholic principles. The franchise for the agricultural labourers, and the Repeal of the Game Laws (first and fifth demands), are political matters on which Catholics are free to have different opinions. His tenth demand is a mere wish for general welfare; the fourth is for religious equality, for which Catholics would be only too thankful. There remain the second and third demands—Education, free, secular, and compulsory; and a school board in every parish. Here, it may be said, is a fatal source of disagreement. How can Catholics work hand-in-hand with the labourers when Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Lloyd Jones, such characteristic spokesmen of the rural and urban workmen respectively, are champions of tyrannical and irreligious education? I answer that the workmen know not what they are professing. They know, indeed, that the Church of England has not been their friend, least of all the friend of the agricultural labourers,¹¹⁴ and they naturally ally themselves with her enemies, and repeat the ridiculous formula,

¹¹² Isaias v. 8.

¹¹³ *The Skeleton at the Plough*, which I have several times cited.

¹¹⁴ The chief propagators of the Agricultural Union have been dissenters. See Clifford, *The Agricultural Lock-out of 1874*, p. 9, note. The truth I have stated in the text makes the conduct of such men as Canon Girdlestone and Bishop Frazer all the more praiseworthy.

free, secular, and compulsory, as a war-cry against her. Naturally of the true principles of the Catholic Church, they know nothing, but only the falsehoods concerning her, which they have received from their anti-Catholic teachers.¹¹⁵ But it is time that a change should come, that they should at length learn the truth, and know that as in the past the Church has been their fellow-sufferer, and as in the present in Germany and Italy, she is undergoing persecution in company with the workmen from the hands of an infidel middle class, so too, now, in England, as in all times and countries, she is the workmen's true friend. And thus while striving to repair the losses inflicted on them by their oppressors, let them seek not only to regain their lost lands, and homes, and leisure, and fair wages but also their lost faith.

O. S. D.

¹¹⁵ Mr. Mitchell (l.c. pp. 4 and 10), has some generous remarks on the monks, for which he deserves the thanks of all Catholics.

Catholic Review.

I.—REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Dorothea Waldegrave*. A Tale. By Ida, Countess Hahn-Hahn. Translated from the German, with a Preface by Lady Herbert. Two vols. Bentley, 1875.

COUNTESS HAHN-HAHN still, as it appears, continues to write novels, though it must be a long time since she first began to practise the art in which she is certainly a proficient. Most of our veteran novelists must have been young when she had already made herself a name in Europe. Happily, her later works have reflected that great change of views as to the principles of human life and human action which must pass over the mind of any one who becomes a Catholic. She has retained her brilliant powers of description and of the delineation of character, but they have been now for many years devoted to the service of Christian morality and of the Catholic Church. As Lady Herbert tells us in her short Preface to this translation, Countess Hahn-Hahn is desirous that some of her later works should appear in an English version, "and thereby destroy any contrary influence which certain books of hers may have produced."

The tale which is here translated has all the characteristics of the authoress in her best days and in her most famous works, if we except such characteristics as have nothing to do with literary excellence and are, in a Christian sense, blemishes rather than ornaments. The main interest is concentrated in the heroine—whose name has been given to the book by the translator. Dorothea is represented at the outset as a German Protestant girl, marrying out of love a Catholic nobleman much her senior in years, whose Catholicism is rather political and philosophical than practical and devotional, and who shrinks from allowing his wife to embrace his own faith for fear she should become *devote* and place herself under the influence of a director. Her health obliges them to travel, and in Egypt they fell in with a German gentleman whose Catholicism is his life, and who nearly brings Dorothea to the point of conversion, when her husband intervenes secretly to prevent it. Her character declines as her aspirations after the faith become fainter and at last die away altogether. Under such circumstances she is exposed to the pursuit of a Prince who had been a candidate for her hand when she gave it to Lord Waldegrave, and to whom she is drawn at first by compassion and afterwards by a stronger feeling. Providence

prevents her fall, and a series of family afflictions help to bring her to her senses, at the same time that her friend Herr von Turn is discovered to be her own half-brother, the eldest of the family and the heir to its titles and possessions. His mother was a Catholic girl, brought up in the family of Dorothea's grandfather, who had attracted the love of the second son, and had for a time renounced her faith in order to marry him. On the death of his elder brother, her husband had neglected and divorced her for the sake of marrying that brother's rich widow, who thus became the mother of Dorothea. The discarded wife had taken her son away, led a strictly religious life herself, and brought him up a good Catholic. The story ends by his refusing to accept his position as head of the family, and becoming a priest, while Dorothea herself becomes a Catholic, to the great joy of her husband, who had bitterly lamented his own blindness in believing that her natural goodness and charm of character would be sufficient to carry her unscathed through the temptations of the world.

It is the fashion in the present day to decry "the religious novel," and it may be freely conceded that the pages of a novel are not the most fit place for the discussion of knotty theological points or the development of doctrinal arguments. But, if novels are to be anything at all but the instruments of mental and moral effeminacy and degradation, their writers must be allowed to aim at serious good and to deal with all those aspects of human motives and human actions which fall lawfully within the sphere of the philosophy of human life. The novel has much the same range as the drama, and in our days it has become a most formidable power for good or for evil. The minds of a large number of persons are fed upon novels. If a large portion of any community were in the habit of drinking half-poisoned water, or of living upon food which had a direct tendency to shorten life or to impair the physical energies, it would be a matter of consideration for the statesmen and rulers of that community to repair the evil by substituting pure and healthy fare for garbage as the daily food of the people. We have happily some good novelists among us, the tendency of whose writing is in the main in the same manly direction as that of the works which have immortalized the names of the great masters whom we have lost. But it is idle to disguise that the extreme artistic skill with which many novels are now written, does but conceal a thoroughly vicious and seductive pandering to the emotions of a refined sensuality. It has become almost a rule that novels, especially those which are selected for appearance in our monthly periodicals, must have nothing to do with anything more serious than the analysis of the feelings and actions of an interesting girl on her way through the regular difficulties which oppose her possession of her lover—all accessories, local colouring, dialogue, description of scenery, and the like, are subordinate to this. There is not a man worth the name in half a score of these novels put together. They are written for men to read, lounging upon sofas, intent upon the various postures of Sheila, or Wenna, or Bathsheba, or

Ethelberta, or Madame la Marquise de Montfort, in the successive chapters of the work. As far as effeminacy and the unbracing of the mind are concerned, they might almost as well be looking on at a series of *poses plastiques*. The humanity that is represented in these novels is a humanity in which duty, virtue, manliness, and religion holds a very subordinate place indeed. It may be thought out of taste to intrude such inartistic subjects as the necessity of faith and grace for resistance to temptation into this exquisite Alhambra of neutral tints and subdued colouring, but it remains not the less true that a novelist might as well at once appeal to the lowest sensuality, as pretend to represent human life and its struggles while he ignores the most powerful springs of action and the most merciful provisions of God for the weakness of His creatures.

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2. *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIV.* Recit et Tableaux. Per M. Casimir Gaillardin, Professeur d'Histoire au Lycée Louis-le-Grand. Tom. i.—v. Paris : Lecoffre, 1871—1875.

It would seem as if we could never have enough about the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. Certainly, the work before us, which is as yet unfinished, does not read like a book upon a subject the interest of which is exhausted. M. Gaillardin, we believe, has been for many years a professor of history in Paris, and the present volumes—which are not at all in the form of a collection of lectures—are the fruit of the industry which his duties imposed upon him. They are thus far superior in form to such books as that of M. Guizot on *Civilization in Europe*, and may be considered as giving us as fair and comprehensive a history as any that we are likely to get.

The first two volumes deal with the political, religious, and literary condition of France under Mazarin. The second pair, which form the second part, are occupied with the epoch of power and glory when Colbert and Louvois were the Ministers of Louis. The third part is to complete the picture by the period of decadence. Of this only one volume is as yet published, treating of the second Coalition against France and the war of the Spanish Succession. M. Gaillardin has thus gone almost to the end of his chosen task, and, without binding ourselves to an indiscriminate adhesion to all his decisions, we can truly say that he seems to us to write in a fair and Christian spirit, and that his conception of the causes both of the greatness and of the miseries of the unparalleled reign of which he is the historian, appears to be true and philosophical. Not even under the Napoleonic Empire was France so great in the eyes of the world and in her influence on Europe as in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. It was a reign the external splendour of which has very seldom been rivalled upon earth. Yet it laid the foundation of evils which have not yet passed away, either in the social, the political, or the religious spheres. The King himself had an unexampled share both in the splendour and in the evil

which characterized the time. If the political ruin of France was insured by his overwhelming despotism, it is no less true that his arrogance, and the attitude which he almost uniformly maintained towards the Church, sowed the seeds of the religious decay which made the Revolution and the temporary abolition of Christianity possible, while his personal conduct inflicted the deepest possible wound upon the morality of his people. We owe the corruptions of the last century, the traditions of which are still rampant in our own, quite as much to the example of the Court of Louis the Fourteenth as to the doctrines of Voltaire or Rousseau. On the other hand, Louis had what in a spiritual sense must be considered the most unfortunate lot to which a mortal can be born, in that he was a king in his cradle and lived all his life among a crowd of courtiers who were ready to tell him that his will was law, and that the indulgence of his desires of whatever kind would be nothing but virtuous. In this respect, he should rather be compared to some of the monsters who succeeded Augustus in the throne of the masters of the world than to ordinary Christian princes. His reign was illustrated by the appearance of a number of great men whose names are still the earthly glories of France, and it was, moreover, a period of transition and development in art and literature which has made it a classic epoch in these departments also. No historian could have a much finer theme, and, if the end is sombre and even tragic, the causes of the decadence do not lie far beneath the surface, and the whole story is thus made more complete as the history of the temporal chastisement of earthly pride.

3. *Spiritual Conferences on the Mysteries of Faith and the Interior Life.* By F. Collins, O.C. London: Washbourne, 1875.

We have here, within the small compass of a moderate-sized volume, a series of Conferences on the leading mysteries of the Advent, Childhood, Passion, and Risen Life of our Lord, followed, and duly completed by considerations on the graces and privileges of His Virgin Mother. These, in their turn, are succeeded by conferences on the religious life, and that persevering cooperation of the human will with the Spirit of grace, which is the main and essential aim of the renouncement involved in religious profession. The style is concise but clear, and bears witness to the author's faithfulness in practising what he so earnestly inculcates in his closing Conference on the "Word of God." He has evidently made the Scriptures the object of his studies, and the handbook of his meditations. In turning over these pages we have not unfrequently been reminded of that glory of Cîteaux, the connecting link between the Holy Fathers and scholastic Doctors, St. Bernard. The work gives evidence of a mind trained in the school of the "Doctor Mellifluus." The four or five "occasional discourses" which form the conclusion of the book, may be recommended as models in their kind.

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